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FURTHER RESEARCHES

II

INTO THE

HISTORY OF THE

FERRAR-GROUP

BY

J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A.

III

FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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P R E F A C E.

MR PEPYS tells us in his diary that he was waked one morning between four and five by a blackbird which he had purchased, which whistled as well as ever he heard any ; only it was 'the beginning of many tunes very well, but there leaves them and goes no further.' I am afraid that my writings on the text of the New Testament have the defect which Mr Pepys found in his blackbird's song ; they do not beat their music out, and they always stop short before the problems stated are properly solved. The present volume is certainly a case in point, and my fear is that, through its incompleteness, it may irritate rather than please. But if life should happen to be prolonged (which is itself the preliminary piping of a bird of passage), I shall hope to return to the Ferrar problem again and perhaps, with the aid of my friend, Mr Lake, who is busy with the same researches, to finally edit and explain the archetypal text which underlies this curious group of manuscripts.

RENDEL HARRIS.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the present tract I return to the study of a conspicuous group of New Testament MSS., marked by peculiar features of the highest interest, and containing a text widely divergent from any accepted or canonical form, known amongst scholars by the name of the Ferrar-group, a title of identification for all MSS. which show textual parallelism with the first members assigned to the group, a title also of honour for the scholar who first engaged in the task of reconstructing the original from which the various members of the group are descended.

Since the problems involved in the text and history of the Ferrar-group were first opened by the Dublin scholars (Ferrar and his literary executor Abbott), New Testament Criticism has made great advances on all sides: the copies are becoming better known, the versions which render the text and the fathers who quote it are receiving a more scientific treatment; activity rules all along the line, and even the reactionary critics, who are at their wits' ends to establish what they consider to be a Catholic text, have, by their zeal, contributed largely to that increase of knowledge which must, in the end, result in the demolition of the fetish which they worship. But nowhere has the activity been more conspicuous than in the study of what is called the Western text, to which the Ferrar-group contributes so much support. After the Codex Bezae, it may be doubted whether any Greek text is so important to the student as that lost archetype from which the members of the Ferrar-group depend, and which is capable of a restoration out of the evidence which is furnished by the individual members of the group.

For this reason we do not consider that the time and pains, which have been expended by other scholars as well as ourselves in the elucidation of this group, have been lost. Here, if anywhere, we can verify the importance of Dr Hort's canon, that "all trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history"; for this group has a history which, with some lacunae, as is inevitable in all history, can be written out with definiteness and clearness, and almost all the peculiar readings furnished by the group will be traced before long to their ultimate source and have their final and complete explanation.

The first thing for us to do is to survey the field of study, and examine what points have been reached by the investigators. The bibliography of the investigation is something as follows. We start with Ferrar and Abbott, whose work is entitled *A collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels*, which appeared at Dublin, in 1877, after the death of Professor Ferrar.

The next stage is the Abbé Martin's epoch-making tract, entitled *Quatre Manuscrits Importants du Nouveau Testament, auxquels on peut en ajouter un cinquième*, which appears in 1886 as a reprint from the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*¹. The value of this tract lies in the proof which it furnished that three out of four of the Ferrar-group could be definitely traced to South Italy or Sicily, and in the intimation that the group could be expanded by the addition of fresh members, more or less closely related to the main line of transmission of the Ferrar-text. The group which consisted originally of Ferrar's four, scattered over the wide area represented by England, France, Italy and Austria, has now undergone a geographical limitation to Calabria or Sicily, while at the same time it experiences an expansion numerically by the addition of hitherto unrecognized relatives to the family. Ferrar had started with the following MSS. in constituting his group, and reconstructing their archetype: Cod. Evv. 13 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, Cod. 69 in possession of the borough of Leicester in England, Cod. 124 in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and Cod. 346 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The

¹ Paris, Maisonneuve et C^{ie}.

three whose Calabrian affinities were successfully demonstrated by the Abbé Martin were 13, 124, and 346. To these he added Cod. 348, also at Milan, a not very close ally of the group¹, and intimated that Dr Scrivener had drawn his attention to a MS. coinciding in all respects with the Ferrar tradition, which was to be found in a collection of MSS. purchased at Janina in Epirus for the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. This MS., which Scrivener denoted by the number 556, but which Gregory marks as 543, will turn out to be a most important addition to the historical knowledge of the group. As it comes from a geographical centre so little removed from Calabria or Sicily, we might almost assume it to be South Italian in its origin, on the ground of its coincidence with the first four Ferrars; but it is sufficient, for the present, to remark that there is no need to change the geographical description of the group, from Calabro-Sicilian to any wider term, until we have examined the new member and made him tell his own story. Up to this point, then, the group is marked in New Testament symbols as

13—69—124—346—543,

and has attached to it the epithet Calabro-Sicilian on the ground of locations made for 13—124—346—[543]: the brackets denoting a partial or doubtful coincidence of origin.

The Abbé also expressed suspicions that a Graeco-Arabic MS. at Venice (Cod. Evv. 211) was in some way connected with the Ferrar-group. These suspicions were provoked by the existence of appended matter similar to what we find in Cod. 69 and Cod. 346. But he did not carry the enquiry beyond the point of speculation.

The next stage in the investigation is the publication in the year 1887 of my own work on *The Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament*². The object of this work was to determine whether the youngest member of the Ferrar-group, the celebrated Leicester Codex (Cod. Evv. 69), could be geographically located

¹ Mr Lake, to whose studies in this field we shall presently draw attention, tells me that it is not a Ferrar-text, and that the Abbé Martin is mistaken in his assumption

of consanguinity between 348 and the group 13—124—346.

² London: C. J. Clay and Sons.

in the same way as had been done by the Abbé Martin for the other members of the group. I was able to show that the MS. had at one time been in the possession of the Convent of the Grey Friars at Cambridge, and although I was not able to carry the investigation much further, there were a number of palaeographical straws in the breeze which led me to conclude my enquiry in favour of an ultimate Italian origin in the following words :

“There is reason to believe that before the Leicester Codex came into the possession of the Cambridge Franciscans, it was to be found upon Italian soil ; for *there is a suspicion derived from the handwriting, from the vellum-paper arrangement in the quires, and from the paper-mark*, which seems to indicate that it is an *Italian production* not half a century anterior to the invention of printing ; but it must be remembered that this conclusion is not of as great a probable weight, in the matter of the reasonings upon which it is based, as the arguments by which we referred the book to Franciscan hands. If, however, our conclusion be valid we shall probably some day discover the ancestor of the MS. in some one of the Italian libraries.”

We shall in the following pages resume the investigation, with a view to deciding some at least of the questions which are thus raised.

The next step in the solution of the Ferrar problem should perhaps be found in the publication in 1890 of that part of Dr Gregory's *Prolegomena to Tischendorf* which deals with the Catalogue of the cursive MSS. of the Gospels. Dr Gregory is careful to note the occurrence in the MSS. which he examines of any of those peculiarities, either in the text or in the supplementary matter, which are characteristic of the Ferrar-group or of any of its leading members. For example, he describes the MS. Evv. 543, to which we alluded above, in the following manner :

543. Lond. Burdett-Coutts iii. 5.

Saec. xii., 28·5 × 22·5, membr., foll. 2, coll. 2, ll. 27—30 ; capp. t, capp. titl, sect, can, lect, syn, men, subscr, *ῥῆμα, στίχ* : *Ev̄v* ; Mt Mc *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ* ; desunt Mt 12, 11—13, 10 Mc 8, 4—28 Lc 15, 20—16, 9 Joh 2, 22—4, 6 4, 52—5, 43 11, 21—47 ; insunt nonnulla de patriarchatibus etc., e familia Evv. 13. 69. 124. 346 esse videtur (cf. Evv. 13).

In this description there are a number of points registered

which are pure Ferrarisms, or which are shared by the Ferrar-group with a few other MSS. Such are the enumeration of the *ῥήματα* and the *στίχοι* contained in the separate books, the description of the gospels as *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, &c., the peculiar tract on the limits of the patriarchates, which is also a feature of the Leicester and Milan MSS. By the registration of these peculiarities the student is directed in his search after other members of the family which he is engaged on. The same thing is the case when Gregory notes definite traces of Calabrian or S. Italian peculiarities, either in the hands or in the notes of ownership. Sometimes he actually draws the conclusion that the MS. in question belongs to the Ferrar-group, as in the case of Evv. 788 in the National Library at Athens; in other cases he furnishes the data upon which the student can build his own superstructure. It was certain that the publication of such an excellent catalogue of the MSS. of the New Testament would be the starting point for a great deal of further investigation into the history of the text¹.

The next step in the investigation is my lecture *On the Origin of the Ferrar-group*, delivered on Nov. 6th, 1893, at Mansfield College, Oxford².

In this tract a very important point was gained for the elucidation of the Ferrar origins, by an examination into the meaning of the two counts of *ῥήματα* and of *στίχοι* in the separate Gospels.

It was shown that the *ῥήματα* were a literal translation of the Syriac word ܠܬܝܠܕܐ, which means *verses*, so that we had the

¹ There is an illustration of this in the account of certain MSS. at Grotta Ferrata. Thus in describing Cod. Evv. 826, Gregory notes

Adult (i.e. pericope de adultera) sequitur Lc. 21, 38; videtur esse familiae Evv. 13 et Codici 69 simillimus. In Calabria exaratus. V. cl. Guil. Henr. Simcoxius me suadente maiorem Lucae partem, Apr. 1886, amicissime contulit et consanguinitatem cum illa familia detexit.

I do not think this partial collation was ever published: it is important to note that it adds another member to the group.

Mr K. Lake, to whose work on this MS. we shall presently refer, points out that Gregory omits to notice that this MS. has the *ῥήματα* reckoned as well as the *στίχοι*, and also that the peculiar description of the Gospel as *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον* is found.

² London: C. J. Clay and Sons.

verses counted twice, once from the Greek as *στίχοι*, and once from the Syriac, which had itself derived its reckoning from the Greek. The way being thus opened for the recognition of the existence of a Syriac element in the MSS. in question, it was further suggested that a number of readings in the Ferrar-text might be explained by the influence of Tatian and his Diatessaron. The importance of these considerations for the right understanding of the story of the text is certainly very great.

In the same year 1893 was published posthumously the *Adversaria Critica* of Dr Scrivener. The importance of this work for the Ferrar problem consists in the fact that it contains a detailed description of Cod. 543 (Scrivener's 556) and a collation of it with the four MSS. of Ferrar. We shall use this description and collation in our further enquiry.

From 1893 the study seems to have dropped until 1898 when it was taken up by my friend Mr Lake, of Lincoln College, Oxford, who took the pains to examine a number of Italian MSS. that had been suspected of affinity with the Ferrar-group. The results of his investigation are published in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, vol. I. pp. 117—120. The first MS. examined by him is the MS. Evv. 211 at Venice, the Graeco-Arabic MS. to which we have alluded above. Mr Lake finds "that there seems little reason for doubting the accuracy of the Abbé Martin's suggestion that 211 was written in Calabria or Sicily, by either an Arabic scribe, or some writer or writers who were interested in Arab settlers in that district." He finds further that the text of the MS. does not supply many coincidences with the Ferrar-text, and suggests finally that "the verdict on 211 must therefore be that in all probability it represents two scribes, one a Calabrian Greek, the other a North African, who adopted much of the additional matter frequently connected with the Ferrar-text as well as the reckoning of the *ῥήματα*. There is a somewhat less degree of probability for supposing that he knew the Ferrar-text, but only used it in the *pericope adulterae*, preferring to use another text which seems to have had some readings perhaps connected with Tatian."

If, however, Mr Lake was disappointed in not finding as close a connexion as he anticipated between the main body of the text of Ev. 211 and the Ferrar-group, he was successful in proving that two other MSS. which he examined were primary members of the group. The two MSS. in question are preserved in the library at Grotta Ferrata: one of them has already been alluded to in these pages, viz. Cod. 826 in Gregory's Catalogue. But Mr Lake shows that Cod. 828 is a companion text, that both codices "possessed (1) the transpositions of Jo. vii. 53—viii. 11 to Lc. xxi. 38, and Lc. xxii. 43, 44 to Mt. xxvi. 39; (2) the reading ϕ^{δ} μνηστευθείσα παρθένος Μαριάμ ἐγέννησεν ὑπὸν λεγόμενον $\chi\nu$, otherwise only found in 346 and 543; (3) the addition καὶ ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοῦς in Mc. ix. 3 and all the other passages quoted [in my lecture] except in Jo. xx. 20 where 828 agreed with the T.R.; (4) the subscriptions" [in the Ferrar form, with numbered $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ and $\sigma\acute{\tau}\iota\chi\omicron\iota$]. The menology in either case shows Calabrian traces. Mr Lake's researches bring the Ferrar-group into the form denoted by

13—69—124—346—543—788—826—828.

Observe the point that has been reached in the determination of the geographical origin of these codices: of the eight mentioned five are already traced to a Calabro-Sicilian origin; of the remaining three one is under critical suspicion of an Italian origin (the Leicester Codex), the other two are from Epirus or near it; Cod. 543 was purchased at Janina in Epirus, and Cod. 788 came into the National Library at Athens from the Monastery τῶν μεγάλων πυλῶν or δουσικοῦ, which, according to Gregory, is in Thessaly on the borders of Epirus. Of this last MS. Gregory says expressly, "In Calabria exaratus, jubente ut videtur Leone." The two on which light is needed are therefore the Leicester Codex and the Burdett-Coutts MS.; between these two, as we shall see presently, there is a close nexus. Let us tabulate the geographical results already reached, adding the date of the MS., and the reason for its local assignment: we have

Cod. 13—Saec. xiii—Calabro-Sicilian saints (Martin).

Cod. 69—,, xv—unknown.

- Cod. 124—Saec. xii —brought to Vienna from Naples by John Sambucus (Martin).
 Cod. 346— „ xii —purchased at Gallipoli in 1606: Calabro-Sicilian saints
 (Martin).
 Cod. 543— „ xii—purchased at Janina in Epirus.
 Cod. 788— „ xi —written in Calabria (Gregory).
 Cod. 826— „ xii—Calabro-Sicilian saints (Lake).
 Cod. 828— „ xii—Calabro-Sicilian saints (Lake).

It will be convenient also, for purposes of reference, to tabulate roughly the tracts which are found attached to some of these Calabrian MSS.:

1. Explanation of the Creed and the principal Councils, Cod. 69.
2. Lives of Apostles, 69, 346.
3. Limits of Patriarchates, 69, 211, 346, 543.
4. Climates of Africa, 211, 346, 543.
5. Appearances of Christ at Resurrection, 211, 346.
6. Symbols of four Evangelists, 124, 211, 346.
7. Concerning the Angels, 211, 346.
8. Nicene rules for Easter, 211.
9. Questions and Answers on Scripture, 211.

Under (3) it is to be observed that the order of the Patriarchates is as follows:

Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, according to 69, 211, 346, 543,

but in the tract ascribed to Leo Sapiens in Migne *PG* (tom. 107), from which the Abbé Martin thought the extract taken, it is

Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem;

and in the similar tract ascribed to Nilus Doxapatrius in Migne *PG* (tom. 132)

Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, Jerusalem.

We have now brought together all the data that have hitherto been collected for the study of the Ferrar-group, and may take up the question afresh with the view of still further extending our knowledge.

CHAPTER I.

OF CODEX 13 AND THE CALABRO-SICILIAN SAINTS IN ITS MENOLOGY.

AT first sight it might seem as if there was not much further to be said with regard to the Paris representative of the Ferrar-group, beyond the elucidations which have been thrown upon its palaeography and its calendar by the Abbé Martin. But as this is, as far as I know, the first instance in which the treatment which is commonly bestowed on Latin Missals and Horae has been applied to Greek Gospels, and since the method applied to this one codex is capable of extension to other members of the group, it may be worth while to spend a little more time and attention on the points raised by the Abbé.

If the menology attached to a copy of the Gospels has a group of saints from some special locality, the Gospels are themselves localised; always bearing in mind that in these matters great saints do not count for as much as small ones, and that one swallow is not the conclusive harbinger of summer. Supposing, then, that a MS. has an overplus of Calabrian or Sicilian saints, we are entitled, if the menology is contemporary with the rest of the MS., to call it a Calabro-Sicilian MS.; and even if the menology should be later in date than the main body of the MS., we can still infer that the book has passed through Calabro-Sicilian hands.

In the case of Cod. 13, Martin gives the following South Italian features from the menology :

α.	S. Elias Σπηλιώτης	11 Sept.
β.	S. Leo of Syracuse	20 Feb.
γ.	S. Conus	3 June.
δ.	S. Fantinus	24 July.
ε.	Translation of S. Fantinus	30 Aug.

S. Conon
a Sicilian
saint,

Reviewing this list of festivals as a whole, we are able at once to say that they are sufficient to establish Calabrianism. Moreover one of the group is not a very bright star and is a star of recent appearance. He can, therefore, only have been honoured in his own locality.

We find from Ferrarius, *De Sanctis Italiae*, p. 170, the following allusion to S. Conus¹:

Conon, qui et Conus, monachus S. Basilii, Naxi seu Nasi in Sicilia honestis parentibus ortus, etc.

a Basilian
monk,
died in
1236.

Naxi, where the saint was born, is in the neighbourhood of Taormina (Taurominium), and the date of his death is given by Ferrarius as 1236.

From this we see (1) that the MS. cannot be as old as the twelfth century, as Scholz said; we must place it, with Gregory, in the thirteenth, and not very early in the thirteenth: (2) we are thrown amongst the Greek Basilian monks, either in the N.E. angle of Sicily or on the opposite mainland.

We pass on, in the next place, to discuss the case of S. Fantinus, for if S. Conon helps us to fix more accurately the date of the MS., Fantinus helps us to fix its geographical origin. It will be noticed that, in distinction from the other saints, S. Fantinus has two days assigned to him, one for his regular commemoration, probably the day of his death, the other for his translation. This second festival is almost meaningless, except for the community amongst whom S. Fantinus is buried or where he is held in peculiar honour. Can we determine where S. Fantinus lived and died, and whither his relics were removed?

Fantinus,
a famous
Basilian
saint,

Fantinus is the foremost of a group of S. Italian saints at a time when monachism was very much in vogue amongst the Greek population, something like, though on a lesser scale, the state of things which we find in the Thebaid. The principal members of the group are Fantinus, his brother Lucas, and their friends or immediate disciples Nilus, Bartolomaeus and Zacharias².

¹ Ferrarius is working from the Martyrology of Maurolycus of Syracuse, and from a MS. of the Church at Nasi.

Reference should also be made to Gaetani,

Vitae Sanct. Sicul. published at Palermo in 1657.

² Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IX. 174. Plurimos Calabria caelicolas tulit in quibus...con-

Their monastic head-quarters is a Basilian convent at Taurianum, on the Italian coast not very far to the north of the strait of Messina. Fantinus was the Abbot of this convent, which had formerly been known as the convent of S. Mercurius. The town of Taurianum and presumably the convent in its neighbourhood were destroyed in an invasion of the Saracens, and apparently the monks fled, for a time, to some safer retreat further inland.

Although there are many ecclesiastical and monastic notices connecting Fantinus with Taurianum, I have not succeeded in finding an early testimony that he is buried there¹. The suggestion arises that his body has been removed, or as the menology says, translated. And as we shall find several other cases of the translation of ecclesiastics and monks, belonging properly to Taurianum, to neighbouring towns, we are inclined to look to some one of

Abbot of
Taurianum
in Calab-
bria.

fessores ex ordine quidem divini Basilii viginti tres, Nilus scilicet abbas...Elias, Zacharias, Fantinus, Ioannes, Lucas, Georgius, Stephanus, Proculus, Bartholomaeus, Nicolaus.

Barrius, *De Antiq. et situ Calabriae*, lib. v. p. 1190. Haud dubium est multos alios Calabros viros divi Basilii monachos per ea tempora sanctitate floruisse, tantis ac talibus ducibus florentibus, utpote Phantino, Zacharia, Helia, Ioanne, Bartholomeo aliisque.

¹ Barrius, *De Antiq. et situ Calabriae*, II. 1078.

Inde est Parma [= Palmi] oppidum super mare cum oleo nobili, distat a Geolia millia passuum sex: non longe est beati Phantini delubrum, olim beato Mercurio dicatum, divi Basilii monachorum monasterium.

I do not suppose that we can conclude from this notice that Fantinus is actually buried there.

Barrius is usually explicit on the question of relics. If he meant us to draw the conclusion that the "delubrum" was a shrine containing the relics, he would probably have said so directly.

Ferrarius, *Catalogus novus sanctorum*, p. 318, indicates the following festival:

Tauriani in Calabria, S. Fantini Abbatis. At first sight this looks like the festival of

the translation of the saint; but a note which Ferrarius adds shows that he is not thinking of the translation; for he says,

Hic diversus esse videtur ab eo de quo in Martyrol. Rom. die 30 Aug. agitur. De hoc in Chron. Calab.

Here he argues that there must be two saints of the name of Fantinus, for there are two festivals. He is clearly wrong, as our Synaxarium shows, for the second festival is the translation of the saint honoured in the first. Ferrarius was not, however, consciously referring to a translation festival when he gave the notice above.

Or take an earlier writer, almost contemporary and collocl with Codex 13. Nilus Doxapatrius, writing his *Notitia Patriarchatu* in 1143 A.D. to Roger, King of Sicily and Calabria, says:

ἡ δὲ Καλαβρία πάλιν ἓνα μητροπολίτην τὸν Ῥηγίου· εἶχε δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκοπὰς ὑφ' ἐαυτῆν, ἡγουν τὴν Ταυριάνην, ὅπου ὁ ἅγιος Φαντίνος [?+ἔχει] τὸ Μοναστήριον, τὴν Βιβώνην ἀνθ' ἧς νῦν τὸ Μίλητον, τὴν Κωνσταντίαν τὴν καὶ Κουσεντίαν νῦν λεγομένην, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πάσας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν Καλαβρίαν.

Observe that Nilus, writing at a time when the festival of the translation of Fantinus was certainly kept, does not say positively that Fantinus is buried at Taurianum.

these towns with their associated churches and monasteries as the place of his deposition. In order, however, to avoid hasty conclusions, we will go into the matter at some length, with the view of finding out all that can be known as to the origin and last resting-place of the saint.

First of all, Fantinus is a Greek saint; the conventional Greek view of him may perhaps be given from the modern *Συναξαριστής* of Nicodemus Hagioreites¹.

Ἐκ Καλαβρίας τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ οὗτος καταγόμενος, ἦτον υἱὸς Γεωργίου καὶ Βρυαίνης, ἀφιερωθεὶς δὲ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν σχεδὸν τῶν βρεφικῶν σπαργάνων, ὅταν ἔφθασεν εἰς κατὰλληλον ἡλικίαν, εἰσῆχθη εἰς Μοναστήριον, ἔνθα μετεχειρίζετο πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγινεν ἐργάτης δόκιμος τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡξιώθη ἀποκαλύψεων. Οὗτος διῆλθε νῆστις εἴκοσιν ὁλοκλήρους ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔμεινε γυμνὸς τέσσαρα ἔτη, καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας κακοπαθείας καὶ κινδύνους ὑπέφερεν ὁ ἀοίδιμος, ὅταν οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εἰσέβαλον ληστρικῶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, λεηλατοῦντες τοὺς τόπους αὐτῆς. Ἀφ' οὗ λοιπὸν ἐν τοιοῦτοις πειρασμοῖς διήνυσεν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη, παραλαβὼν ὕστερον τοὺς δύο μαθητάς του, Βιτάλιον καὶ Νικήφορον, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, διατρίψας δὲ εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον πολλὸν χρόνον, ἔγινεν εἰς πολλοὺς πρόξενος σωτηρίας. Μετὰ ταῦτα μετέβη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν ἐκεῖ εὐρισκόμενον τῆς Θεοτόκου ναόν, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Δάρισσαν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ, ἀφ' οὗ προσέμεινεν ἀρκετὸν καιρὸν εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀχιλλίου ἐπισκόπου Δαρίσσης, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην, καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπῆλυσεν καὶ κατετράφησεν εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ἐπὶ ἔτη ὀκτῶ, μεταχειριζόμενος τὸν συνήθη κανόνα τῆς ἐγκρατείας, τελειώνει τὴν ζωὴν του μὲ γῆρας ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐκδημῇ πρὸς ὃν ἐπόθησε Κύριον.

S. Fantinus exposed to perils at the hands of the Moslems in 951 A.D. ? or perhaps earlier.

The account is at once recognised as, in the main, conventional, S. Fantinus doing all the things proper for saints to do, and finishing up with a regular pilgrimage to all the famous Greek shrines. We suspect that none of this is history, nor are the names of his parents or disciples to be trusted. The Synaxaristes does not know when he was born, nor where, and is equally ignorant of his death and burial. What it does know is that he suffered in the Saracen invasion of Italy; this is history and almost sufficient to be chronology: for the time when the Saracens began to harry the Italian coasts can be determined with some closeness².

¹ Zacynthi, 1868 A.D.

² The Cambridge *Chronicle of Sicily* (ed. Caruso) which runs from A.D. 827 to A.D. 964, furnishes a good many of the chronological landmarks for the assaults of the Moslems

on Sicily and Calabria. Here are some specimens for Sicily:

A.D. 827 the Moslems arrive in Sicily.

831 „ „ capture Messina.

832 „ „ „ Palermo.

We must turn to Italian writers if we are to get more definite information.

So far we have seen reason to believe that Fantinus is buried, either at Taurianum or in some not very distant church or monastery.

But when we begin to consult the Calabrian and Sicilian writers we find a strife amongst them, some claiming Fantinus for Taurianum and some for Syracuse. Is claimed by Maurolycus for Syracuse,

Barrius, in his third book, attacks Maurolycus, of Syracuse, for claiming Fantinus as a citizen of that city :

“Franc. Maurolycus in suo martyrologio divum Phantinum Taurianum sancti Basilii monachum, de quo dudum scripsimus, quasi Licinia et Mucia lege, ut Ciceronis verbis utar, repetit Syracusas, illiusque parentes martyrio vitam finisse blaterat.”

The charge of inaccuracy is repeated again in c. 22,

“Beatum Phantinum, Calabrum hominem, quasi Iulia lege, repetit Syracusas.”

Barrius is referring to Cicero, *Brutus* xvi. 63,

“Lysias est Atticus, quamquam Timaeus eum quasi Licinia et Mucia lege repetit Syracusas,”

a beautiful and apt quotation, which he may be forgiven for repeating. It is certainly too bad of the Syracusans to steal our saints, and they deserve to be belaboured with appropriate quotations from choice writers.

A.D. 845 the Moslems capture Motrica.

847 „ „ „ Leontini.

848 „ „ „ Ragusa.

859 „ „ „ Castrum Ennae
[Castrogiovanni].

Again in

870 „ „ „ Malta,

in 872 are defeated at Salerno,

and in

878 capture Syracuse, after a terrible siege.

Raids into Calabria occur constantly throughout the earlier years of the tenth century.

From the same chronicle we learn that in

A.D. 924 Saklab, whose name is Masud, came from Africa, and took S. Agatha.

A.D. 926 Hageb came to Oria, which he

captured; that he made a truce with the Calabrians, taking Leo the bishop of Sicily and the prefect of Calabria as hostages.

In A.D. 929 we find Saklab raiding the territory of the Lombards, probably Beneventum by way of Bari, and taking many captives.

In A.D. 930 Saklab raids Calabria, captures the citadel of Termulah and takes 12,000 captives.

The destruction of the monastery of S. Mercurius appears to belong to the date 951 A.D., though it is open to question whether it may not be a century earlier.

Rocchi Pirro in his *Syracusanae Eccl. Notitia*¹, lib. III. takes the Syracusan side :

"S. Fantinus conf. Syracusanus sub Const. Imperat. 24 Iulii apud oppidum Tabaritanum Calabriae obiit ex Cajetano,"

i.e. he quotes Cajetanus (Gaetani) as the authority for the statements that Fantinus is a Syracusan, and that he dies at Taurianum². He continues :

the Syracusan origin being perhaps conceded in a lost Greek life, by Peter of Taurianum.

"Per tab. Syrac. narrat idem Cajet. in sua Idea fol. 90 se habere Petri Occidentis episc. narrationem de vita et miraculis S. Fantini transl. ex Graeco":

and here it seems as if a direct appeal had been made to the Greek life of Fantinus in favour of the opinion that he was a Syracusan. At least, the Syracusans say so. Have a care, O Calabrians, that your saints be not stolen! To steal a saint, it is flat burglary. Against this opinion Marafioti, in his *Croniche di Calabria*³, makes a vigorous protest :

p. 55. "Scrisse questo Francesco Maurolico, che S. Fantini di Tauriano (città antica di Calabria ma hoggi distrutta, della quale ragionaremo nel fine di questo primo libro) fosse stato Siracusano, e ch' il padre Fanto e la madre Diodata fossero stati martiri. E non d' altra occasione si mosse, solo perche nel tempo della distruzione di Tauriano, il beato Fantino fuggendo la guerra (secondo alcune non certe opinioni) andò ad habitare in Siracusa. Mà io dico che si deve dare più

¹ Reprinted in Graevius, *Antiq. Sic.* Vol. II. p. 575.

² Gaetani, *Vit. Sanct. Sic.* Vol. I. pp. 160 sqq. is working from a Greek MS. in the monastery of S. Salvatore at Messina, attributed to Peter, Bishop of Taurianum. The bishop is reported as having seen with his own eyes a marvellous shipwreck of Moslem corsairs at the hands of S. Fantinus, who appeared miraculously for their destruction. As the tale is reported in Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, I. 230, the storm which Fantinus raised took place on the 14th July, which is, as the menologies show, the proper day for him to raise the wind. But why Amari should call him a thaumaturge of the fourth century, and label him Fantinus of Syracuse, does not appear, unless it be that having made two Fantinuses out of one, one of the pair has to be provided with a fresh chronology. Amari's report is as follows: "ci si

narra che san Fantino di Siracusa, thaumaturgo del quarto secolo, vissuto da solitaria in Calabria, apparuè un dì, ventiquattro luglio, tra i turbini e le folgori su la spiaggia di Seminara per affondare una nave musulmana venuta a corseggiare in quelle parti. E tal miracolo, di cui si dicono testimonii i Musulmani che camparono dal naufragio, va riferito ai tempi di Leone." Amari tries to prove that this storm occurred between A.D. 813 and 820; Fantinus was, as we suspect, of much later date than this, and à fortiori so was his ghost. Note that Gaetani's transcripts, in eight volumes, are preserved at the National Library, Palermo (see Martini, *Manoscritti Greci*, I. 135). Amongst the pieces described as contained in these volumes, I do not see the life of Fantinus, though it may very well be there.

³ Padova, A.D. 1601.

fede à quelle legende de' Santi approbati della Santa Chiesa, quali continuamente si leggono da monaci dell' ordine di S. Basilio, nel recitare del loro uffizio, che non si devono credere le scritture di Maurolico, e se in quella legende si ritrova scritto, che S. Fantino è stato cittadino di Tauriano, per quel cagione egli lo scrive cittadino Siracusano? di ciò posso dare certezza vera, perchè, con gli occhi proprii, così ho veduto scritto, in un libro greco, degli uffizii di quelli predetti monaci, nel collegio del Salvatore di Messina, e l' istesso ho veduto in un altro libro d' uffizii, nel monasterio di San Bartolomeo, dell' istesso ordine, posto in un casale di Calabria detto S. Eufemia, nel territorio di Sinopoli. E nel martirologio antico d' Usuardo si leggono queste parole, *Calabriae oppido Tabritano sancti Phantini confessoris.*"

The last quotation does not seem much to the point; Fantinus might surely be commemorated at Taurianum, and yet have been both born and buried in Syracuse.

Marafioti returns to the charge again on p. 73:

"In questa citta Tauriano è stato nativo cittadino S. Fantino monaco dell' ordine di S. Basilio, abbate del monasterio allhora detto S. Mercurio, ma hoggi chiamata la Chiesa dal suo nome S. Fantino, poco lontano da Parma. La vita di S. Fantino è stata scritta in lingua greca d' uno cittadino di Tauriano, ed hoggi si ritrova appresso i monaci di S. Basilio, in un libro di carta pergamena, nel monasterio di S. Bartolomeo, posto poco lontano da S. Eufemia, casale di Sinopoli, dal quale hauemo fatto ricordo poco inanzi."

So far, then, as our examination of the question has gone, there is a conflict of opinions as to whether S. Fantinus was born at Taurianum or at Syracuse; it is, however, certain that the greater part of his life was spent in the Basilian monastery at Taurianum; it is extremely likely that he died there, and the ultimate question will then be whether his relics are at Syracuse or in some church or monastery not far from Taurianum. Probably the best way to settle this point would be to examine the Greek life of Fantinus, of which there is almost sure to be a copy in the Library at Grotta Ferrata or at Messina.

But without exploring for the Greek life, we may perhaps decide the matter by a tradition which was current in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the year 1551, a visitation of the Basilian monasteries was made by order of Pope Julius the third. The visitors made a report of all the monasteries in Calabria, and they expressly state that they found the body of S. Fantinus in the monastery at Seminara¹ which bears his name.

¹ Seminara is close to Palmi (Parma) but a little more inland.

The following extract from the Acts of the Visitation (an important document for the history of the Basilian monasteries) contains the statement to which we refer¹:

Die 27 Aprilis discessimus a Sancta Maria de Molochi et accessimus ad monasterium Sancti Heliae et Sancti Philareti de Siminara, distans a Siminara duobus millibus, et invenimus ibi priorem cum quinque monachis, et invenimus competenter ornatum.

Die 28 Aprilis discessimus a monasterio Sancti Heliae et Sancti Philareti, et accessimus ad monasterium Sancti Ioannis de Lauro, et invenimus ecclesiam quasi speluncam latronum et sine cultu divino, discoopertam, et domos dirutas, quia erat abbas dicti loci Ioannes Baptista de Cavaleriis canonicus basilicae Sancti Petri Romae, qui Romae morabatur.

Die predicto discessimus a monasterio Sancti Ioannis de Loro, et accessimus ad Abbatiam Sancti Phantini de Seminaria *ubi invenimus corpus Sancti Phantini*, sed ecclesiam destructam a Mauris vel Turcis, quia situm erat circa mare dictum monasterium.

There is a flavour of traditional information about the statement of the destruction of the Church of S. Fantinus by Moors or Turks, for this can only be a reminiscence of the raids made in Fantinus' own day; still, if we could trust the eyes of the commissioners, or rather the tradition as to the identity of the relics exhibited, we should have to allow that the bones of Fantinus were preserved in the monastery that bears his name².

While we are discussing the question of the translation of the saint, it is well to keep in mind that translations of two of his companions are recorded. For example, we shall presently see that the body of S. Bartholomeo³ was transferred to the island of Lipari, probably

S. Bartholomew removed to Lipari

¹ The complete text will be found in Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 109, from the Paris MS. Lat. 13,081.

² There is, as Batiffol shows, another famous monastery of S. Fantinus at Bova: so that the centres of his praise are principally three, Seminara, Bova and Syracuse.

³ It will be seen that we reject as a legendary accretion the statement that this is Bartholomew *the Apostle*.

It is stated by Amari that, as early as 838 the body of the Saint had been stolen by the Beneventans, who were threatened by the Moslems on the side of Brindisi. It seems to me that this is too early, and that if the

relics had really been removed, the cult of S. Bartholomew in Lipari would have ceased before the eleventh century. However, here is what Amari says: he is describing the conflicts between the Lombards of Benevento under Sicardo, and the Moslems who were raiding Brindisi. "Tra questa sconfitta e la morte, il tiranno beneventano ottenne singolar favore dal cielo, dicono i cronisti narrando tuttavia le orribilità sue: assassanii, stupri, tradimento, ruberie, carnificine. Avendo appreso che la superstizione potesse far ammenda dei delitti, Sicardo mandava a cercare per ogni luogo ossami di santi: spesso a rubarne; e n' avea raccolto un

because it is his native soil. We shall also see in the case of S. Elias and S. Speliotes, to which we shall presently refer, that his body lies in the church at Galatro, which does not, however, claim to be his birthplace. On the other hand, there is a record that two bishops of Taurianum, George and John, both of whom appear to be Basilian saints, are buried in the church of S. Fantinus at Taurianum. The inference is that Fantinus is himself buried there, but, as we have pointed out, it is not quite a secure inference¹.

It will, however, be admitted that the place of translation is located within a very moderate geographical radius, and hence we infer that Cod. 13, which belongs to some church or monastery celebrating the double festival of Fantinus, is also geographically located within narrow limits, which may be capable of still further contraction.

S. Elias Speliotes, who is also found in the menology of Cod. 13, is one of the same group of Basilian saints. He also was an Abbot of Taurianum, and over his birthplace also, there is a strife between Calabria and Sicily.

Ferrarius, *De Sanctis Italiae*, p. 588, speaks of him as follows :

"S. Helias, abbas apud Taurianum. Helias Ennae in Sicilia natus &c. Vitam S. Elias Speliotes primum apud Taurianum urbem in Calabria excisam in monte prope Parmam born at Enna oppidum solitariam egit : postea, multis ad eum ob sanctitatis famam confluentibus, Enna became a monk of Taurianum, corpus hoc tempore Galatri oppido proximo in ecclesia, quae de illius nomine is buried at Galatro, S. Helias vocatur, pie asservatur. Colitur autem non solum Bovae, ubi natus ab aliis and his cult is kept putatur, sed et Ennae et alibi."

The 'alibi' probably refers to Rhegium, where a Greek life of him fixes his birthplace. The case is very similar to that of Fantinus. Two of the saints in the menology of Cod. 13 are thus Basilian abbots of Taurianum. For the honour of having given birth to

tesoro, quando gli capitò alle mani una reliquia miracolissima, s' altra mai ne fu. Le nave longobarde che giravan le isole dando la caccia ai Saraceni, l' ottocente trentotto, approdate a Lipari, trovaron bello ed intero il corpo di San Bartolommeo, che chiuso in uno avel di marmo era venuto a galla a galla dalle foci del Gange alle isole Eolie; dove riconosciuto, e come no? ebbe culto e altari,

finchè i Musulmani non guastarono ogni cosa. In più lieve barca, viaggiarono le reliquie da Lipari a Salerno, onde poi furono tramutate a Benevento."

¹ Barrius, lib. III. c. 69, quoting Maurolycus, "in aede divi Phantini quae non procul a Parma oppido extat, sepultos ait esse Ioannem et Georgium Episcopos Taurianos."

According
to Mara-
foti,

either of them, Sicily and Calabria contend. Marafioti, in his *Croniche di Calabria*, p. 155, has the following notice of S. Elias :

S. Elias was born in Bova but some say at Reggio: he was a monk of the convent at Taurianum near which he lived as a solitary. He was a friend of S. Nilus; he died at Melicocca, and is buried at Galatro.

“ In questa città [Bova] è stato nativo cittadino S. Elia abbate, monaco dell' ordine di S. Basilio, il quale fiorè nel tempo del beato Nilo.... Questo S. Elia portò l' origine sua da Reggio dall' antica cassata la bozzetta, e nel tempo ch' egli vivendo essercitava la vita monacale, dimorò molt' anni nel monasterio di S. Mercurio edificato in luogo poco lontano da Parma, la cui chiesa sta hoggi sotto 'l nome di S. Fantino abbate, come habbiamo detto nel primo libro. Soleva fare la sua vita solitaria 'l beato Elia sù l' altezze d' un monte vicino alla predetta habitatione Parma in una grotta chiamata allhora S. Michele Arcangiolo, ma hoggi dal nome del Santo è chiamata S. Elia¹. Quivi era 'l santo spessissime volte visitato dal Beato Nilo suo coetaneo. Passo egli da questa vita nel monasterio posto in Melicoccà, dove insino ad hoggi dimorano i monaci del suo ordine, laqual chiesa è dedicata al suo nome, il suo santo corpo sta sepolto in Galatro nell' anticha chiesa del suo nome, laqual' anticamente era monasterio del predetto ordine di S. Basilio. La festività del detto glorioso santo si suole celebrare à gl' undici di Settembre.

It will be seen that this notice dates S. Elias in the days of S. Nilus. The latter saint is a special friend of St Fantinus, from which it perhaps follows that Elias is either the predecessor or the successor of S. Fantinus in the monastery of Taurianum. At all events they were warm friends and close neighbours².

The last of the special saints mentioned by Martin from Cod. 13 is S. Leon of Syracuse, celebrated on Feb. 20. From the form of the statement, one might perhaps infer that the writer of the menology was not himself a Syracusan, but this would be too hasty a conclusion. He might be distinguishing him from some other Leo, or he might have appropriated the saint from some other place, which was better entitled than Syracuse to do him honour. This latter alternative appears to be defensible, for we find on examination that his right title is S. Leon of Catana.

¹ The chapel of S. Elias is marked on the Italian Ordnance Maps.

² Barrius, lib. v. 1154, describing the life of S. Nilus, says “ad coenobium beati Mercurii secessit monachalem habitum suscepturus in quo tum plerique sancti viri degebant, atque inter caeteros erant divini illi viri Phantinus, Zacharias et Lucas.” He also tells (p. 1186) how he was cured of a wound inflicted on him by the devil, as he was

singing the Psalms in Church with S. Fantinus. The notice suggests that Nilus succeeded Fantinus. It appears, further, that he had some difficulty in getting admission to the order: he first tried S. Maria in Patirio, which convent passed him on to S. Nazarius, from which place he found his way to S. Mercurius and to the cave of his election on the mountain side.

Thus the Synaxaristes from which we have previously quoted gives the following sketch of his life, with excellent legendary accretions, but at the same time with chronology and geography that can probably be tested, according to which the saint was born in Ravenna, and flourished in the latter part of the ninth century¹.

According to modern Synaxaria,

Οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος ἦτο κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ ἐν ἔτει ωπς'. κατήγετο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ῥαβέννης πόλεως τῆς Ἰταλίας, υἱὸς γονέων εὐσεβῶν ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ εὐγενῶν. Διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς ζωῆς του καθαρότητα, διήλθεν ὅλους τοὺς βαθμοὺς τῆς Ἱερωσύνης, γενόμενος ἀναγνώστης, ὑποδιάκονος, διάκονος καὶ πρεσβύτερος· τελευταῖον δὲ, με θεϊκὴν ψῆφον, ἔγινε καὶ ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Μητροπόλεως Κατάνης, ἣ ὁποία κεῖται κατὰ τὴν περίφημον νήσον τῆς Σικελίας, ὅπου εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὸ βουνὸν τῆς Αἵτνης, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξερεῦγει φλόγας πυρὸς μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. Οὗτος λοιπὸν ὁ μακάριος, ὡς Λέων πεποιθὺς κατὰ τὸ ὄνομά του, καὶ ζῆλον ἔχων διὰ τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἔλαμψεν ὡς φωστὴρ εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη, ἐπιμελούμενος τῶν ψυχῶν, τῶν χερῶν ὧν προστάτης, τοὺς πτωχοὺς παρηγορῶν, τὸ σκότος τῆς πλάνης διώκων, καὶ διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς του κρημνίσας χαμαὶ ἐν εἰδωλικὸν ἄγαλμα. Οὗτος ἔκτισε καὶ ναὸν μεγαλώτατον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς καλλινίκου Μάρτυρος Λουκίας, τῆς ἐκ Σικελίας, μὲ ἐδικὰ του φιλοτεχνήματα, καὶ κατέκαυσε τὸν μάγον καὶ τερατοποιὸν Ἡλιοδώρον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς δὲν ἔπαυε μὲν ἐνοχλῶν ὅλους τοὺς ἐκεῖ εὐρισκομένους Χριστιανοὺς, τέρατα ποιῶν ψευδῇ καὶ φαντασιώδῃ, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπεχείρησε νὰ φερθῇ καὶ ἐναντίον τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας, τούτου ἕνεκα ὁ μακάριος οὗτος Λέων ἐκράτησε τὸν τερατοποιὸν ἐκείνον διὰ τεχνασμάτων παντοίων, καὶ δέσας αὐτὸν μὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιτραχήλιόν του, διέταξε νὰ ἀναφθῇ μεγάλη πυρκαϊὰ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Ἅγιος ἐδημοσίευσε καὶ ἐθεάτρισε πᾶσαν μαγείαν, ἣν ἐτεχνεύετο ἐκείνος ὁ παράφρων, θέλων δὲ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου καθαρῶς εἰς ὅλους τὴν ἐδικὴν του μὲν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἀλιτηρίου τὴν δαιμονιώδη κακοτεχνίαν, ἐμβῆκε μετὰ τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς, καὶ δὲν ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ ἀφ' οὗ κατεκάη τελείως ὁ ἄθλιος ἐκείνος καὶ δειλῆαιος.

Τοῦτο τὸ θαῦμα ἐξέπληξεν ἅπαντας, διότι ὅχι μόνον ὁ Ἅγιος ἔμεινε ἀφλεκτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ ἱερά του ἄμφια ἤγγισε διόλου ἡ φωτιά. Ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ ἡ φήμη τοῦ τοιοῦτου θαύματος ἔφθασεν εἰς τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες Λέων ὁ Σοφὸς καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς του, ἀκούσαντες, ἔστειλαν καὶ ἔφεραν τὸν Ἅγιον εἰς Κωσταντινούπολιν, καὶ λαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἱεροὺς πόδας του, παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν νὰ δέχται τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Οὗτος ὁ Ἅγιος ὅχι μόνον ζῶν ἦτο μέγιστος εἰς τὰ θαύματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐνεταφιάσθη, ἐνέργει περισσότερα θαυμάσια.

in the year A.D. 886 flourished S. Leo of Ravenna,

who became Bishop Metropolitane of Catana, destroyed an idol by his prayers and built a church in honour of S. Lucy of Palermo; at the last he encountered the Devil in the person of a fearsome Mage, whom he tricked into a bonfire in the marketplace, preserving himself by the virtue of incom-bustibility, and becoming at the last a Mage himself, of world renown.

Such is the story of S. Leon of Catana, and here we may say again, in Ciceronian language, "Cod. 13 repetit S. Leonem Syra-

¹ The date assigned must be too early, for we find in the *Cambridge Chronicle of Sicily* that in A.D. 926, Hageb came to Oria in Calabria and captured it, that he made a truce with the Calabrians and took Leo, the bishop of Sicily, as a hostage. The language

"bishop of Sicily" is significant. We shall see that this means Catana, and that the chronicler concedes that this place is the religious metropolis. The Leo mentioned is the Leo of our Menology.

casas." Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that Catana, which appears to have been originally the seat of the Archiepiscopate, or at the least an independent Episcopal see, without subordinate dioceses, has been brought under the rule of Syracuse. We have some early evidence on this point from the pen of Nilus Doxapatrius (A.D. 1143), to whom we previously alluded.

Nilus tells us¹ that, in his time, Sicily had only one metropolitan, viz. the bishop of Syracuse: *εἶχε δὲ ἡ Σικελία πᾶσα ἓνα μητροπολίτην τὸν Συρακούσης*. But he recognises that Catana was also the seat of an Archbishopric and explains it as follows:

p. 249. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Κατάνη, οὕσα τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦ [sc. ἐπισκόπου] Συρακούσης, ἐτιμῆθη παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Λεόντιον [l. Λέοντα] τὸν ταύτης ἐπίσκοπον εἰς ἀρχιεπίσκοπον.

p. 259. Ἡ Κατάνη ἐπισκοπὴ οὕσα Συρακούσης, τιμηθεῖσα δὲ διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Λέοντα.

From this it is easy to see that there has been a strife in the matter of ecclesiastical dignity between Catana and Syracuse. Hence also we see clearly that S. Leon is really S. Leon of Catana and not of Syracuse, and that our MS. (Cod. 13) is again suspect of ecclesiastical felony². If this suspicion could in any way be confirmed, we should locate the MS. in one of the churches or monasteries of Syracuse³.

¹ Ed. Le Moyne, p. 248.

² In confirmation I note that the Menology in Cod. Evv. 561 expressly says Catana, Feb. 20, τοῦ ἁγίου Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης, and that this is right appears also from the Greek life, preserved in Gaetani's transcripts at Palermo [Vol. VIII. = II. E. 15] where the heading is *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης*.

It is further confirmed by the heading of a hymn in honour of S. Leo, also preserved amongst Gaetani's papers [Vol. III. = II. E. 10], headed "Sancti Iosephi hymnographi in D. Leonem Epm. Catanensem hymnus."

In the same volume will be found again the Greek life of S. Leo, headed *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης* as above.

³ In the time of Nilus Doxapatrius, the following bishoprics in Sicily, and five bishoprics in Calabria, were subject to Constantinople:

Ἡ Συρακοῦσα τῆς Σικελίας, ἔχουσα ἐπισκοπὰς καὶ ὧν (α) ἡ Κατάνη, (β) ἡ Ταυρομίνη, (γ) ἡ Μεσσήνα, (δ) τὸ Κεφαλούδι, (ε) τὰ Θερμά, (ς) Πάνορμον, (ζ) Λιλύβαιον, (η) Τρόκαλα, (θ) Ἀκράγας, (ι) Τυνδάριον, (ια) Καρίνη, (ιβ) Λεοντίνη, (ιγ) Ἀλεσις, (ιδ) Γαῦδος νῆσος, (ιε) Μελίτη νῆσος, ἡ λεγομένη Μάλτα, (ισ) Λίπαρις νῆσος, (ις) Βουρκάπος, (ιη) Δίδυμος, (ιθ) Οὔστένα, (κ) Ταίναρος, (κα) Βασιλούδη; while of Calabria he says:

Ἡ ἁγία Σεβερῖνη τῆς Καλαβρίας, ἔχουσα ἐπισκοπὰς εἰς τρεῖς.

We have now discussed the Calabrian elements in the menology of Cod. 13. The impression which the enquiry leaves on the mind is that the MS. is of Syracusan origin; but we have not been able to decide definitely between the neighbourhood of Syracuse and the neighbourhood of Taurianum, though the balance of opinion is perhaps in favour of a Syracusan origin.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE CALABRO-SICILIAN SAINTS IN COD. 346.

It will be convenient, while we are on the question of hagiology, to add a few words to what the Abbé Martin has said with regard to the menology in Cod. 346. His statement of the case is as follows :

“ Parmi les noms certainement Siciliens ou Calabrais, nous citerons saint Elie le Spéléote, au 11 septembre : τῶν τιμίων ξύλων καὶ τοῦ Ἡλίου τοῦ ἐν σπηλαίῳ (*sic*) ; saint Grégoire d'Agrigente au 24 novembre ; saint Marcel de Syracuse, au 4 mars ; saint Fantinus au 24 juillet. Ce saint est uni ici, comme dans le synaxaire de Paris, à saint Christine, martyre ; la *déposition* de saint Barthélémi dans l'île de Lipari, au 25 août : (κατάθεσις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου εἰς νῆσον Ληπάρεως). Enfin, au 30 août, on signale, sous une dénomination plus simple, la seconde fête de saint Fantinus, fête que le synaxaire de Paris caractérise par l'épithète de Translation (τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐγενίου καὶ Μαρίας καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Φαντίνου)¹. Ces noms ne laissent pas subsister l'ombre d'un doute sur la provenance du cursif 346. Nous sommes ici évidemment en présence d'un volume rédigé dans la Calabre ou la Sicile, pour une des églises de la grande Grèce.”

The selection made by the Abbé Martin is certainly very striking ; Fantinus is described as “*our* holy father,” but this may be merely conventional, and not local : we are certainly in one of the places where Fantinus is celebrated, and almost certainly we are amongst Basilian monks. Observe, further, how Bartho-

¹ The expression τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν does not necessarily help us in locating a menology ; it would do so, if it were applied only to those saints that are especially near and dear. For example, the menology in Cod. Evv. 561 is singularly full and apparently Constantinopolitan. It uses the

expression τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν for at least twenty saints. Of these nine are patriarchs and bishops of Constantinople or monks in the immediate neighbourhood. Of the remainder, a few are universal favourites like S. Nicolas and S. Spyridion, the rest being scattered all over the Levant.

lomew, who is surely the companion of Fantinus, has become an apostle; in doing so, he loses his influence as a factor in geographical determination, for he is no longer S. Bartholomew of Lipari, but, as an apostle, belongs to the whole world; but as he is still S. Bartholomew *at* Lipari, the S. Italian identification has not wholly been obscured.

Two new saints come forward, significantly both are Sicilians. S. Gregory of Agrigentum, if I may depend upon my recollection of menologies, is so common a saint that one hardly ventures to use him for geographical purposes.

With S. Marcellus of Syracuse, however, the case is different: and perhaps the note of place may be significant. He is, probably, not historical, but one of the many mythical founders of Christianity in the different countries and governments of the world. His ecclesiastical duty is to found the Church in Sicily and to represent S. Peter. Curiously he is not appointed by S. Peter on the way to Rome, as in the case of some Calabrian churches, but by S. Peter at Antioch. Whether this is an ecclesiastical way of saying that the Sicilian, or rather the Syracusan, Church is an original Antiochene foundation, I do not know.

In the Synaxaristes to which we have previously referred, he is commemorated on Feb. 9th, along with two other saints, as follows:

Μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων Ἱερομαρτύρων, Μαρκέλλου ἐπισκόπου Σικελίας, Φιλαργίου ἐπισκόπου Κύπρου, καὶ Παγκρατίου ἐπισκόπου Ταυρομενίου.

The third of these, the bishop of Taormina, is the son of Marcellus, and he also is appointed by Peter. The Synaxaristes has very little to say of their history. Pancratius and his father went to Jerusalem to see the Lord, then to Antioch where he attached himself to Peter. It is interesting to note that when Pancratius was made bishop of Taormina, he was done to death by the Montanists, on account of his faithful preaching of Christ. There is no impiety of which the Montanists were not capable: they would even live a century before their right time, in order to damage the Catholic Church, with regard to which they are allowed by the Synaxarist to have pre-existed. As for Marcellus

he was made bishop of Sicily and died in peace, no Montanist making him afraid. He is therefore the first, though probably apocryphal, for in these matters we follow phantoms, of a long line of metropolitans of Syracuse. It must be admitted that, if the evidence of the menology in Cod. 13 arouses suspicions of a Syracusan origin, the evidence of the menology in Cod. 346 goes in the same direction with regard to the origin of that MS.

It will be convenient to tabulate the saints that we have come across in the course of the enquiry.

	Codd. 13	124	346	543	788	826	828
1. St Elias Speliotes 11 Sept. ...	+		+			+	+
2. St Gregory of Agrigentum... 24 Nov. ...			+				+
3. St Leo of Syracuse 20 Feb. ...	+						+
4. St Marcellus of Syracuse ... 4 March...			+				-
5. St Cosmo of Naxi 3 June ...	+						+
6. St Fantinus 24 July ...	+		+				+
7. St Bartholomew in Lipari... 25 Aug. ...			+				+
8. St Fantinus (translation) ... 30 Aug. ...	+		+				+

A few more Calabro-Sicilian saints belonging to the same or a slightly later time should be looked for in the Menologies; they may throw much light on dates and localities. Such are

S. Nilus of Rossano	A.D. 903— 998 (?)
S. Vitale of Castronovo	948—1061 (?)
S. Luca of Demona	950— 954 [Oct. 13]
S. Simeon of Syracuse	964—1034
S. Filareto of Sicily	1020—1070 [Ap. 6]
S. Agrippina of Mineo ¹	[June 23]

¹ S. Agrippina is a peculiarly interesting case, because, like Fantinus and Bartholomew, she is a translation, apparently from Rome. Thus Amari, *Storia*, I. 279:

“Nella nuova religione la rocca di Ducezio s’affidava alla protezione di Sant’ Agrippina, martire Romano, le cui ossa trafugate da pie donne, recate in Mineo, onorate di tempio e di culto, si teneano come palladio della città.”

And very serviceable the citizens found their palladium, if we may believe the Greek

legend which Amari quotes, according to which Agrippina inflicted a severe check on the invading Moslems: “appariva Santa Agrippina levando in alto una croce e mandava giù a precipizio gli assalitori, che un solo non ne campò.” The date of this apparition seems to be A.D. 828. For further information on S. Agrippina, consult Gaetani, *Vit. Sanct. Sic.* I. 18 and the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, June, tom. IV. p. 458.

CHAPTER III.

OF CERTAIN MSS. WRITTEN BY THE SAME HAND AS THE LEICESTER CODEX.

THE Leicester Codex, to which we now return, is in some ways the most difficult of the members of the Ferrar-group to treat historically. The absence of synaxarium and menology, the peculiarity of the handwriting and a number of other isolated and unusual features, have perplexed the investigators and made it difficult to find the provenience of the MS.

The first step to the solution of the enigma was taken in my book on *The Leicester Codex*, in which I showed that, however peculiar the handwriting might be, it was not absolutely unique, for there was a Greek Psalter in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, written by the very same hand, and which could be proved to have been at one time in the possession of the Friars Minors of Cambridge. And it was easy to infer, since the Leicester Codex had certainly passed to Leicester from Cambridge, that it also was a Franciscan MS.

Since then another MS. has been found in Cambridge written in the same hand. It, too, is a Greek Psalter, in the Library of Trinity College, and it adds, in all probability, one more volume to the Franciscan collection. Dr James, who drew my attention to this MS., has described it as follows in the Catalogue which he has made of the MSS. from the Gale collection in the possession of Trinity College :

[O. 3. 14]

Psalterium graece.

Vellum, $11\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, ff. 152 + 7, 19 lines to a page. Cent. xv, in the peculiar hand of the Leicester Codex.

Binding: stamped leather over boards. The principal ornaments on the first cover are

1. a square: a fleur de lys, with one quatrefoil in upper *l.* corner;
- 2, 3. square stamps of leaves and flowers;
4. square stamp of crowned lion.

On the second cover 1, 3 occur, and also a small square stamp of a dolphin, a band of vine-ornament, two large lozenges with 4-petalled flower, and the inscription in black letter

℣hale.

Collation: 4 fly leaves | $\alpha^8 - \iota^8$ | 3 fly-leaves.

The quires are numbered in the original hand in Greek: the first four leaves are marked in this way (e.g. in quire 5),

1 $\epsilon^{\sigma\nu}$. 2 $\phi\nu^{\lambda\lambda}\beta$ $\epsilon^{\sigma\nu}$. 3 $\phi\nu^{\lambda\lambda}\gamma$ $\epsilon^{\sigma\nu}$. 4 $\phi\nu^{\lambda\lambda}\delta$ $\epsilon^{\sigma\nu}$.

Also they are numbered by a Latin scribe from *a* to *t*: both in ink and with pencil: the latter marking ceases towards the end.

There is a third numbering (partial) in Arabic figures: on the fly-leaves are old press marks, all of xviiith and xviiith cent.

No. 339.

H. 25.

O. 10. 29.

O. 3. 14.

and on the fourth fly-leaf these notes (c. xvii., xviii.):

- (1) In hoc codice absunt Psalmorum tituli universi,
- (2) $\Sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ collatum esse hoc exemplar cum novem codicibus

MS. Regio		MS.
Aldina Editio		A.
Compl. Editio		C.
Romana Editio		R.
Chrysostomo	} in Psalmos	Ch.
Theodoreto		Th.
Euthymio		Eu.
Catena Corderii	} in Psalmos	Cc.
Catena Nicetae		Cn.

Cod. Ravii in Ps. 18.

As a matter of fact the collation does not extend beyond f. 17 (Ps. xxii. lat.).

At the top of f. 1 in a xviiith cent. hand is

No. 1255.

The initial to each Psalm is on pale red, usually with some foliated ornament; quickly and rather poorly done.

Each verse has a small initial in the same red.

The first quire is written in a hand slightly larger than the rest: but I see no reason to doubt that it is the same hand. It seems not unlikely that the first quire was early worn out or lost and supplied by the same scribe.

With the second quire (Ps. xiv) the Latin *incipits* of the Psalms begin to be added, and are continued to the end of the Psalter. There are none in quire 1. They are in a late xvth cent. hand, in a pale red, not distinguishable from that of the initials.

Contents. The Psalter: various readings from the authorities named above are noted in the margin up to Ps. xxii. Lat. There are interlinear Latin glosses in red (in the hand which wrote the *incipits*) in quire 2: they are few in number in the early part of the book, and soon cease. But in Ps. cxviii. (cxix.)—Ps. cxxii. (cxxiii.) they are fairly continuous; they then cease.

At the end of Ps. cli. in red is written: *Finitur psalterium.* Then follow:

Ps. cli. Μικρὸς ἤμην.

Song of Moses, (1) Exod. xv.

(2) Deut. xxxiii.

Song of Hannah.

Prayer of Habakkuk.

Isaiah: ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει.

Prayer of Jonah.

Prayer of Azarias.

Song of Three Children.

Magnificat.

Benedicite.

Prayer of Hezekiah.

Prayer of Manasseh.

ending f. 151 a.

f. 151 b and the fly-leaves are blank.

Thus far Dr James. The main points to be noticed are (i) that a new MS. has been added to those known as "Leicester Codices" (xxi.); the facsimile which we give will enable us to verify the identification of the hand; (ii) the marks of the foliation are the same as in the Leicester Codex and Caius Psalter; (iii) as the facsimile shows, the illuminated initials are in an Italian hand.

It will be observed that the evidence furnished by this new MS. is not very clear or striking. The mark of ownership in the binding has not yet led to an identification. And there seem to be no marks of ownership in the text itself. What is really important is that the ornamental initials in the MS. are of a pronounced Italian hand. They must be taken as a proof of the

Italian provenience of the MS. It was either brought from Italy or written by an Italian scribe in England. In the latter case, the occurrence of three Leicester-hand MSS. traceable to Cambridge, or actually existing there, would lead us to assume that they were written there, and to find the Scriptorium from which they emanated in the Cambridge Grey-friars' convent. But we have not yet decided that the MSS. were produced there: they may have been imported.

So we must go further afield again with our enquiries. And the next point gained is that there are two more Greek MSS. in the same peculiar hand in the Chapter Library at Durham. This identification is, I believe, due in the first instance to Dr Sanday, but whether he followed up the clue which they furnish, I do not know.

The two MSS. are described as follows in Thomas Rud's *Catalogue of the Durham MSS.*

C. IV. 2. Platonis libri nonnulli graecè.

Iis praefigitur

This title
is not by
the first
hand.

1. Τιμαίω τῷ Λοκρῷ περὶ ψυχᾶς Κόσμου, καὶ Φύσιος.

Sic incipit: Τιμαίος ὁ Λόκρος τάδε ἔφα δύο αιτίας εἶμεν τῶν σωμάτων.

In editis pro σωμάτων legitur συμπάντων. Titulum hunc (cum nullus sit in M^{sto}) apposui ex Platonis operibus, inter quae legitur in Tomo 3^{to}, pag. 93, in editione Henr. Stephani.

2. Πλάτωνος Μένων, ἡ περὶ Αρετῆς.

fol. 10.

Titulus hic non est in M^{sto}.

Sic incipit Εἵχεις μοι εἰπεῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄρα διδασκτὸν ἡ Αρετὴ.

Legitur in operum ejus Tomo 2^{do}, pag. 70.

3. Ἰππίας μείζων, ἡ, περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ.

fol. 32 b.

Sic incipit: Ἰππίας ὁ καλὸς τε καὶ σοφός, ὥς διὰ χρόνου.

In Tomo 3^{to} operum ejus, pag. 281.

4. Ἰππίας ὁ ἐλάττων, ἡ, περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ.

fol. 54 b.

Pro Καλοῦ libri editi habent Ψεύδους.

Sic incipit: Σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σιγᾶς, ὦ Σώκρατες.

In Tomo 1^{mo} operum, folio 363.

5. Ἰών, ἡ, περὶ Ἰλιάδος.

fol. 63.

Sic incipit: Ἰὼνα χαίρειν. Πόθεν τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπιδημήμας. —

In Tomo 1^{mo} operum, pag. 530.

6. [Μενέξενος]¹ ἢ, Επιτάφιος. fol. 74.
 Sic incipit : [Εξ]αγοβᾶς, ἢ [πόθεν] Μενέξενος. —
 Voces uncis inclusae exciderunt e M^{sto}.
 In operum tomo 2^{do}, pag. 234.
7. Κλειτοφῶν, ἢ, Προτρεπτικός. fol. 88 b.
 Sic incipit : Κλειτοφῶντα τὸν Αριστωνύμου τίς ἡμῖν. —
 In Tomo 3^{to} operum, p. 406.
8. Πολιτεῖαι, ἢ, περὶ Δικαίου, Διάλογοι ι'. fol. 93.
 Sic incipiunt, Κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος. —
 In operum Tomo 2^{do}, pag. 327.
 Scriptus est hic Codex, ut Aristotelis libri Logici (supra, in Pluteo 1. Cod. 15),
 partim in membranis, sed maiorem partem in Chartâ; (eâque, magna libri parte, in
 summis praesertim foliis, humore corruptâ) lineis continuis, literis cursivis; et eâdem
 cum Aristotele aetate.

The description which Rud gives of the Aristotle is as follows :

Porphyrîi et Aristotelis Libri Logici. (Ὄργανον vulgo dicti) Graece.

C. 1. 15
folio.

1. Πορφυρίου Φιλοσόφου Εἰσαγωγή.
 Sic incipit : Οντος αναγκαίου, Χρυσασόριε.
2. Αριστοτέλους Κατηγορίαι. fol. 10 b.
 Sic incipiunt : Ομωνυμα λέγεται, ὦν ὄνομα μόνον κοινόν.
3. Αριστοτέλους περὶ Ἑρμηνείας. fol. 28.
 Sic incipit : Πρώτον δεῖ θέσθαι, τὸ Ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Ρῆμα. —
4. Αριστοτέλους Αναλυτικῶν προτέρων τὸ πρῶτον. fol. 37 b.
 Sic incipit : Πρώτον εἰπεῖν περὶ τὸ, καὶ τινός, ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις. —
5. Αριστοτέλους Αναλυτικῶν προτέρων τὸ δεύτερον. fol. 73 b.
 Sic incipit : Εν πόσοις μὲν οὖν σχήμασι, καὶ διὰ ποίων. —
6. Αριστοτέλους Αναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων τὸ πρῶτον. fol. 97 b.
 Sic incipit : Πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ πᾶσα μαθησις. —
7. Αριστοτέλους Αναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων τὸ δεύτερον. fol. 120 b.
 Sic incipit : Τὰ ζητούμενα ἐστὶν ἴσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν. —
8. — Τοπικῶν τὸ πρῶτον. fol. 132 b.
 Sic incipit : Ἡ μὲν πρόθεσις τῆς πραγματείας. —
9. — τὸ δεύτερον. fol. 142 b.
 Sic incipit : Ἐστι δὲ τῶν προβλημάτων, τὰ μὲν. —
10. — τὸ τρίτον. fol. 150.
 Sic incipit : Πότερον δὲ αἰρετώτερον, ἢ βέλτιον. —

¹ MS. damaged.

11. — τὸ τέταρτον. fol. 154.
 Sic incipit : Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ Γένος. —
12. — τὸ πέμπτον. fol. 162 b.
 Sic incipit : Πότερον δὲ ἴδιον ἢ οὐκ ἴδιον. —
13. — τὸ ἕκτον. fol. 173.
 Sic incipit : τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς ὄρους πραγματείας μέρος ἐ.
14. τὸ ἑβδομον. fol. 185 b.
 Sic incipit : Πότερον δὲ ταυτὸν, ἢ ἕτερον.
15. Τοπικῶν τὸ Οὔδοον. fol. 190.
 Sic incipit : Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τῆς Τάξεως.
16. περὶ τῶν Σοφιστικῶν Ελέγχων. fol. 200.

Scriptus est hic Codex partim in membranis, sed majorem partem in charta; lineis integris; litteris currentibus, non bene formatis; ante annos (ut videtur) vix 300.

It will be seen from these descriptions that Rud had noticed (a) the similarity between the two MSS., (b) the peculiar arrangement of leaves, consisting of mixed paper and vellum, with more paper than vellum; (c) the ungainliness of the hand. He does not, however, go so far as to actually identify the hands, one with another. Neither does he explain why the paper is in the case of the Plato MS. in excess of the vellum, through the placing of the two vellum double-leaves in a quire on the inside and outside of the quire, with three paper leaves between these two in a quire of five double leaves. (This is the peculiar arrangement which we described in the Leicester Codex.) Rud has moreover made the two codices younger by nearly a century than they should have been reckoned; for, writing in 1825, he thinks the two volumes under 300 years old, which brings them down to 1525. As we shall see, this is seventy-five or a hundred years later than it should have been.

We will now turn to the Codices themselves, and to the facsimiles that we have made of them. From the latter it is easy to see that the handwriting is the same as that of the Leicester Codex, the Caius Psalter and the Trinity Psalter. We have, therefore, five Greek MSS. written in the same mysterious hand, three of which have been traced to Cambridge, and two of which are in Durham. Moreover, of the five, three, viz. the Leicester Codex and the two Durham MSS., are in paleographical

agreement, by being written on mixed paper and vellum. In the case of the Plato MS. the agreement in the vellum-paper arrangement with the Leicester Codex is exact: in the case of the Aristotle nearly exact. It must be allowed that the evidence for the emanation of the MSS. from a common scriptorium is very strong.

Of the two MSS. the Aristotle is much the finer; it is not only larger, being a folio with fine wide margins, and better preserved, having escaped the damp which has so much damaged the Plato, but it is also much more carefully written. In the Plato, on the other hand, all the severe criticisms which have been passed on the Leicester script are abundantly justified. There is very little difference in the structure of the two Durham MSS.: the Plato comes nearest to the Leicester Codex, with which it agrees in having the half-quire of ten leaves arranged in the sequence V P P P V (i.e. three paper leaves between two vellum leaves). In the Aristotle the central vellum double-leaf is replaced by a paper leaf, giving the half-quire in the form V P P P P. Each of the MSS. has the characteristic Leicester catchwords and leaf-signatures. In the Plato, for instance, where these catchwords are mostly cut away by the binder, we find on fol. 36 r. the note that it is the fifth leaf of the fifth quire¹, and so on with other leaves and quires throughout the book.

The Aristotle has the same leaf numeration, e.g. on fol. 2 we have

$\phi\nu^{\lambda\lambda} \xi^{\nu} \tau^{\varepsilon} \alpha^{\tau\nu'}$,

or

$\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha' \tau\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$,

and there are also catchwords for the leaves through the first half of the quinion. In the Plato, the catchwords run from quire to quire.

In neither of the two MSS. does there appear to be any mark of authorship or ownership, by which we might be enabled to locate or to date the Leicester group. We do not even know whether the books at Durham came from Cambridge or not, and at first sight it looks as if the problem had been

¹ Perhaps by an error of counting for the fourth quire: on fol. 45r., the count conserves the error, marking $\phi\nu^{\lambda\lambda} \delta \tau\omicron\nu \varsigma'$, if I have rightly read the abbreviations.

made no easier by the addition of the new members to the group.

We will now turn to the paper-marks of the two Durham MSS. and see what light they throw upon their provenience.

The Plato has for the first 190 leaves a paper which is marked by a pair of crossed arrows in a circle. Can this mark be localised within a given area or placed within outside limits of time? It is well known that in consequence of the extraordinary development in the early paper trade, and the frequent persistence of given marks through long intervals, it is not an easy thing to fix places and dates for paper by merely looking at the water-mark. Special varieties of paper travelled far and wide, both by land and by sea, and the result is that the provenience of the paper mills is obscured by the multiplicity of the markets. In the case of the cross-arrows we have an easy instance before us for investigation. I have not yet found it amongst English papers. Nor is it found amongst the papers of the Low Countries. The whole of the collection made by Mr Ottley in his researches into the origin of printing does not show, amongst the papers of the Netherlands, a single instance. And this is remarkable, in view of the fact that Mr Ottley had access to all the Dutch archives, and that his collection covered the whole period from 1350 A.D. to 1550¹.

This collection of paper-marks is now in the Cambridge University Library [*Add.* 2878 and 2878 a], and we have examined both the volumes in which it is contained. At the close of the collection will be found a few tracings taken from Italian letters; amongst these there is a case of the crossed arrows (not enclosed in a circle), the letter being written from Suana in Tuscany and dated in 1468.

From the circumstance that books and papers of the Low Countries do not show the crossed arrows, we might almost conclude

¹ Sotheby says, in his *Principia Topographica*, Vol. III. p. 2, that "Mr Ottley amassed an interesting and large collection of the specimens of the Paper made in the Netherlands from as early a period as 1350 to 1550: from which, together with the tracings he obtained of marks in dated volumes of accounts, wherein there were no blank

leaves, and also tracings from the Public Account Books preserved at Haarlem and elsewhere, he was enabled to form a series of the drawings of the various water-marks he had met with, arranging them according to dates, and to the different parts of the Netherlands whence the folio books of accounts had been forwarded."

that it was as little a French mark as a Dutch, for there is a great trade in paper between Northern France and the Netherlands, and many of the marks collected by Ottley are in evidence on the point. But to make the point clear, we may examine the collection of marks (filigranes) published by Matton and Midoux from French sources¹.

Amongst the 600 specimens there does not seem to be a single case of crossed arrows.

So far then, our only instance is the Tuscan letter of 1468.

Let us now turn to the collection of marks published by Jansen, in his *Essai sur l'origine de la gravure*. We find two cases of crossed arrows, numbered respectively 55 and 287. Turning to p. 341 we find that No. 55 is an Italian mark, apparently one that is employed by Nicolas Jenson the Venetian printer. The passage runs as follows :

“les Flèches placées en sautoir, No. 55, sont également de 1470, et servent de marque au papier de quelques villes Vénétiennes, ainsi qu'à celui de Bologne et de Rome².”

The other numbered drawing (No. 287) will be found to be a mark from a paper employed by a printer at Treviso, one Bernard Celerino di Luere³.

These two marks then are North Italian.

Next let us try the collection made by Sotheby, in his *Typography of the XVth century*. We find the crossed arrows in the following printed books :

Tortellius at Rome in	1471	Ulrich Gallus
Strabo at Venice in	1472	Vindelin de Spira
Cicero „ „ „	1480	Jenson?
Valerius Maximus „ „ „	1471	Vindelin de Spira
Cicero „ „ „	1475	Jenson
Dante „ „ „	1477	Vindelin de Spira

¹ Étude sur les Filigranes des papiers employés en France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles, accompagnée de 600 dessins lithographiés, par Étienne Midoux et Auguste Matton. Paris, 1868.

² The author is borrowing from Sardini,

H.

L' esame sui principii della francese ed italiana tipografia, ovvero storia critica di Nicola Jenson; Lucca, 1797.

³ Here he is borrowing from an *Éclaircissement sur les marques du papier* par M. de la Serna.

to which may be added from Bodemann (*Xylographische und Typographische Incunabeln*):

Augustine: Venice, 1470, by John and Vindelin de Spira.

It will be seen that these marks must be North Italian, and probably not very far, as to their place of manufacture, from Venice. The collection made by Briquet¹ from the Genoese archives, which contains nearly 600 watermarks, ranging from A.D. 1154 to 1700, does not exhibit a single case of the crossed arrows, a result which is very striking as a confirmation of our belief that we have rightly located the paper-mill which used the sign in question in the N.E. of Italy. It is, moreover, striking that they appear to be confined almost to a single decade. Unless, then, we can find earlier specimens, or can trace them further afield, we are almost driven to conclude that the Durham Plato is a North Italian product, and that it is not earlier than the invention of printing.

We have discussed this single watermark at length, because it seems to afford ground for definite conclusions. It is not, to be sure, impossible that Italian paper of the kind described might be exported to England, either from Genoa or Venice. But the evidence, in the shape of extant papers, for such a belief is not forthcoming. We shall conclude, therefore, provisionally that the scriptorium that we are in search of was in some North Italian city, probably in the neighbourhood of Venice².

¹ *Papiers et Filigranes des archives de Gênes* par C. M. Briquet.

² While we are engaged upon this point, it may be well to recall what we said with regard to the watermarks of the Leicester Codex in our first discussion of that MS. The marks of the paper used in that MS. were not easy to decipher or to locate. The one which is marked A in my book (a trident-shaped mark) is declared by Sir E. M. Thompson to be nothing else than a letter M, and I see now that he is right.

Very similar marks will be found in Briquet, Nos. 403—406, under the dates 1408—1448. A single instance will be found in Midoux and Matton (No. 422) from a MS. at Soissons. The mark is surmounted by a Latin cross as in the case of some of the Genoese examples. I have no doubt of its Italian origin.

The Leicester mark B is suspected by Sir E. M. Thompson to be a faintly impressed bull's head. It is one of the commonest and most widely diffused of paper marks.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMMON ORIGINAL OF THE LEICESTER CODEX, THE MILAN MS. AND THE BURDETT-COUTTS MS.

WE have now definitely taken the Leicester Codex back into Italy. The next step is to find a local home for the MS. from which it is most nearly derived. We do not mean by that term the MS. which is the ancestor of the whole group, and which is commonly, but perhaps erroneously, supposed to be an *uncial* MS. of great dignity and critical weight. We have only to look at the common matter which is found attached to Codd. 69, 346, 543, to be convinced of the close relation that subsists between these three, at all events. Each of them, for example, has the peculiar tract on the Patriarchates followed, in two cases out of the three, by the tract on the Climates of Africa: and unless these tracts have been removed from the ancestry of the other members of the group, they constitute a special bond of propinquity between the MSS. in which they occur. Is it possible by a scrutiny of the tracts to find out anything further with regard to the common form from which this subordinate group has been derived? Let us see whether the question can be answered with a sufficient degree of clearness.

In the first place, we remark that the two tracts in question belong together: we shall find them occurring not only in Cod. 346 and Cod. 543, but also in the Graeco-Arabic MS. of the Gospels Cod. 211. The second is an appendix to the first, goes with it traditionally, and we shall, I think, see reason to believe that it is by the same hand as the first. Hence the absence of the tract on the Climates of Africa in the Leicester Codex is merely a case of

omission, perhaps of deliberate omission on account of the unintelligibility of the matter¹. We might, therefore, treat the two tracts as a single work, if we wished. It will, however, be convenient to begin our investigation with the small fragment on the Climates of Africa.

In the Burdett-Coutts manuscript this fragment reads as follows: I take the text from Scrivener, *Adversaria Critica* (p. xx and p. 57), where the MS. is described and collated.

Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς·
 πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη καλουμένη λούβια καὶ μαϊά δι
 Δεύτερον κλίμα ἢ μαυρουσία ἥτοι αἰθιοπία μέλεδι
 ἐς σε οὐδ
 Τρίτον κλίμα ἡμίβακ ἥγουν σέχελ
 Τέταρτον κλίμα ἢ μουμέδα. ἥγουν ζέβ
 Πέμπτον κλίμα ἀφρικὴ ἥν...

Of one leaf only a few letters remain.

This is how the text is given on p. xx, but on p. 57 it appears again with the following variations:

λούβιε for λούβια
 ἐς σε οὐδὲ
 ἀφρικὴ ἥ...

end of leaf: one leaf torn out: only a few fragments remain.

Our business is to explain this perplexing and barely intelligible little document.

In the first place we remark that the writer has used the word Africa in two different senses: in his headline it is a continent: in his divisions of the continent it appears to stand for proconsular Africa. He is working from a source which has used words in a sense different from his own.

The same thing may be suspected, though we cannot be sure on this point, in his use of the word climate. In the tract on the Patriarchates the word appears to be used in an indefinite

¹ Another conclusive argument for the accuracy of this view lies in the fact that part of the matter which Cod. 543 adds to Cod. 69 belongs to the latter: thus Cod. 543 continues

ἔχει δὲ μητροπολίτας ἑβ'. Αἱ τάξεις τῶν

κλιμάτων κτέ.:

where the twelve enumerated metropolitans belong to the fifth patriarchate in the previous tract. Cod. 69 has therefore discarded a little too much, if it deliberately omitted the climates. The text must go further.

sense: the patriarchate of Constantinople is said to include all the northern climes, that of Alexandria all the southern, and so on. Clearly the word is here used indefinitely. But we must examine whether in the subdivision of Africa the word has a technical or a general meaning, and, if it should be the former, whether our writer has taken over this technical meaning from his sources, though he was himself capable of using the word somewhat differently.

What then is the original meaning of the word climate, and how could the world be divided into climates?

Our modern maps and geographies still retain traces of the earlier cosmographies, according to which the Greeks divided up the known and the habitable parts of the world. We still see marked on the globe temperate, torrid and frigid zones, probably without suspecting that they are the substitute for an older and at one time universally accepted division of the world, invented by the Greeks, and taken over from them by the Arabs at the time when Islam stood for civilization as well as faith¹.

According to the Greek cosmographers, the world is (*a*) habitable (*ἡ οἰκουμένη*) and (*b*) uninhabitable. The second division is a negligible quantity: we do not, in the early days of geography, make maps of countries where people do not live. Accordingly the ground to be studied excludes both the Arctic and the Equatorial regions: and when these are excluded, the remainder is divided into a series of parallel zones, called *κλίματα*. The name shows that the division has something to do with the height of the sun in the sky, and its inclination (*κλίνω*) relatively to the equator, the elevation being measured either by the shadows which it casts or by the length of the day. Without going into a detailed account of the progress made by inquisitive man into astronomical truth, it is sufficient to observe that the division into climates, between certain arbitrary limits which define the inhabited portion of the earth, is made practically by observing the length of the longest day at different places on the meridian,

¹ Another curious instance of survival is the term *Ultima Thule* for the end of the world, which merely translates and trans-
literates the "last longitude" of Arab maps and geographies.

and drawing a line of latitude across the meridian each time that the length of the longest day increases by a given amount. Usually there are seven such zones, and these zones are the Greek climates. What we are concerned with is not the question of scientific accuracy, either in the conception or in the delimitation of these zones, but with the historical question of their relative positions as marked on the earliest maps by the first geographers, and as brought down out of the Greek world into the middle ages by the savants of Islam¹.

We shall examine carefully into the meaning of the climates of the world in the Arabic geographers, remembering that all through the middle ages geography is practically an Arabic monopoly; we shall trace the change that slowly comes over the word *climate* as the conventional division of the world's surface into zones is recognized as insufficiently scientific: and then we shall turn to the little tract on the climates of Africa in our group of MSS. and examine in what sense the term is there to be understood.

For instance, if we turn to Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 359, we find the following statement:

“*Iqlim, clima*, divisione geografica degli antichi.

Provincia, distretto o contado. In tale significato Edrisi usa questa voce al singolare, come sinonimo di ‘*aml*.’”

Here it is noted that the Arabic climate is usually the conventional one of the geographers, but that in Edrisi (fl. 1150 A.D.) it is sometimes used in the general sense of district.

In a note on p. 9 of the same work, Amari again observes, with regard to the fluctuation of the meaning of the word *climate* in Edrisi,

“L' arabo '*iqlim*, trascrizione di *κλίμα*, vuol dire una delle divisioni della Terra secondo gli antichi geografi ed anche una provincia. Non è uopo aggiungere che qui ha il primo significato e che gli Arabi non danno mai a questo vocabolo quello che ha preso nelle lingue moderne dell' Europa.”

¹ As we shall frequently have to quote from these Arabic geographers, let us say once for all that we make no pretence to more than an elementary knowledge of Arabic, and that, for our purpose, the pub-

lished translations of the greatest works on Arabic geography will be found sufficient. Into the minutiae of Arabic criticism we do not need to enter.

This statement of Amari, that the Arabs never use the word *climate* in the modified sense, had itself to be modified, as being far too rapid a generalisation: and in his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (II. p. 275) we find him speaking as follows:

“La prima cosa è da vedere che valga qui *iklīm*; la qual voce gli Arabi tolsero del greco, al par di noi; le serbarono il significato che aveva in geografia fisica; e v'aggiunser quello di circoscrizione territoriale. Così la troviamo in Affrica nel decimo secolo [sc. Ibn Haukal], in Sicilia nel duodecimo [sc. Edrisi] e in Egitto nel decimo-quarto [sc. Abdallatif].”

It thus appears that the word *climate* underwent in Arabic a slow change of meaning, and came at last to be used in the sense of district or province just in the same way as it passed over in Greek from one meaning to the other, and as, for example, we find it in the tract on the Patriarchates.

Saving this gradual substitution and encroachment of a later meaning, the usage of the Arabic geographers is steady in the maintenance of the word '*iglim* as an *earth-zone*.

For example, Massoudy, writing in the middle of the tenth century, composed a cosmographic and philosophic work which is described as follows in Reinaud's *Introduction to the Geography of Abulfeda* (p. lxvii):

“Outre les *Prairies d'Or*, Massoudy a composé un traité intitulé *Livre de l'indication et de l'admonition*...on trouve dans la préface plusieurs détails intéressants sur les travaux littéraires de Massoudy. En voici quelques fragments:

...Maintenant il m'a paru convenable de joindre aux ouvrages précédents un traité auquel je donne pour titre *L'indicateur et le moniteur*. J'y insérerai d'une manière abrégée ce qui concerne...les vents, le lieu d'où ils soufflent, leurs effets et leurs influences; la terre, sa figure,...la distribution des sept climats et leur attribution à chacune des sept planètes.”

Observe that Massoudy's map contains the seven zones¹, which are the traditional division of the earth's surface. Notice also the conventional elements which go to make up a geography: the chapter on the winds is an important one, because we shall

¹ Massoudy speaks of having seen maps with the climates marked in different colours.

“Massoudy, qui écrivait dans la première moitié du x^e siècle de notre ère, à une époque où les monuments de la littérature arabe

étaient restés intacts, s'exprime ainsi, ‘J'ai vu les sept climats enluminés de diverses couleurs, dans plusieurs livres.’” Abulfeda, *Introd.* p. xlv.

find presently that Nilus Doxapatrius in his tract on the Five Patriarchates also introduces the winds, a point which sadly perplexed M. l'Abbé Martin. As we shall see, the wind-rose is purely conventional and answers to what sailors call "boxing the compass."

One of the most famous of Arabic savants is the great Edrisi, and he will be especially important for our enquiry, because he resides in Sicily and is an exact contemporary of Nilus Doxapatrius to whom we shall have presently occasion to refer in connexion with the tract on the Patriarchates which is contained in our group of MSS., and whom we shall identify as its author. Nilus, whoever he was, wrote in Sicily and dates his dedication of his work to the Norman King Roger in 1143 A.D. Concerning Edrisi we are told as follows in the Prolegomena to Abulfeda (p. cxiv):

"On sait qu'Édrisi se trouvait en 548 (1154 de J. C.) en Sicile¹, à la cour du prince normand Roger II qui était très-zélé pour les sciences, notamment pour la géographie. Ce fut pour ce prince qu'Édrisi composa le traité auquel il doit sa célébrité en Orient et en Occident. L'ouvrage d'Édrisi porte le titre d'Amusement de celui qui désire parcourir le monde....Voici ce qu'on lit dans le Dictionnaire biographique de Khalyf Alsefedy, à l'article Roger: 'Roger avait beaucoup de goût dans les études philosophiques. Il fit venir des côtés d'Afrique le schérif Édrisi et le chargea de construire quelque chose à l'image du monde....Un jour le roi dit à Édrisi, Je voudrais avoir une description de la terre, faite d'après des observations directes et non d'après des livres. Là-dessus le roi et Édrisi firent choix de quelques hommes intelligents et honnêtes. Ces hommes se mirent à voyager à l'orient, à l'occident, au midi et au nord :...à mesure qu'un de ces hommes arrivaient, Édrisi insérait dans son traité les remarques qui lui étaient communiquées. Voilà comment fut composé le *Nozhat-al-Moschtac*.'

À l'époque où Édrisi séjourna en Sicile, la puissance normande avait atteint son apogée, et cette circonstance ne contribua pas peu aux facilités de tout genre qu'Édrisi trouva pour son travail. Outre la Sicile, Roger possédait une grande partie du continent italien. D'ailleurs, en Sicile, une partie de la population se composait des anciens Arabes et Africains qui avaient été si longtemps maîtres du pays et qui continuaient à professer l'islamisme. La civilisation chrétienne et la civilisation musulmane se trouvaient en présence à Palerme et à Messine, et ces deux ports

¹ The date given is that of the death of Roger II. Cf. Amari, *Bibl. Arabo-Sicula*, p. 289, from an Arabic necrology:

"Ragǧār (Ruggiero) rè dei Franchi, principe della Sicilia, morì di angina l'anno

cinquecenquarantotto (29 marzo 1153—17 marzo 1154)...egli fece venire della costiera d'Africa [lit. 'al 'adwah, la terra del passaggio] lo šarīf 'al 'Idrīsī (Edrisi), autore di *Nuzhat 'al Muštāq*."

voyaient arriver chaque jour des navires de tous les points de l'horizon. Édrisi profita des renseignements que lui communiquaient les voyageurs des côtés de l'Afrique, de l'Égypte, et de la Syrie : en même temps, il tira un parti fort utile des notions que lui fournirent les Chrétiens ; non seulement il rédigea une description détaillée de la Sicile, de l'Italie, de la France, de l'Illyrie, et de l'Allemagne, mais encore il traça un dessin assez exact de la presqu'île de Scandinave, dont les anciens n'avaient eu qu'une idée très-vague. En ce qui concerne les îles situées sur les côtés occidentales de l'Afrique, dont le nombre avait été exagéré, il puisa dans la légende d'un saint Irlandais, appelé saint Brandaine, qui à cette époque jouissait d'un grand crédit en occident."

The foregoing passage is of the utmost importance in our investigation : we shall show that Edrisi's geography is based, like the rest of the Arabic treatises, on the seven zones, although there are cases where he uses the word climate in a more general sense. But even more important than this fact is the glimpse that we get into the intellectual life of the Norman court, at a time when Nilus Doxapatrius either composed or transcribed from some existing source the tract on the Five Patriarchates. Certainly no one will be disposed to deny that the intellectual environment was favourable to the production of either of the tracts which we are discussing. Geography was in the air, and a knowledge of the seven earth-zones was a mark of good-breeding and an introduction to royal favour. Edrisi himself tells us that Prince Roger desired to know the boundaries of his possessions, the lines of communication, the *climates* in which they were situated, &c. He had a planisphere made, of an enormous size, on which were engraved the configuration of the *seven climates*, the regions, countries, &c., seas, gulfs, &c. To accompany the planisphere a book was necessary which should treat of the products of each country, of the peculiarities of each climate, the state of the populations, &c. Such a work was accordingly composed by Edrisi¹.

¹ Edrisi's statement concerning the seven climates is as follows (tr. Jaubert, p. 5) :

"La partie habitable de la terre a été divisée par les savants en sept climats, dont chacun s'étend de l'occident à l'orient. Cette division n'est point établie d'après des lignes naturellement existantes, mais bien d'après

des lignes idéales imaginées par les astronomes. Il y a dans chaque climat un grand nombre de villes, de forts, de villages et de peuples qui ne se ressemblent point entre eux."

Note that Jaubert's translation of Edrisi is severely criticized by Dozy and de Goeje for

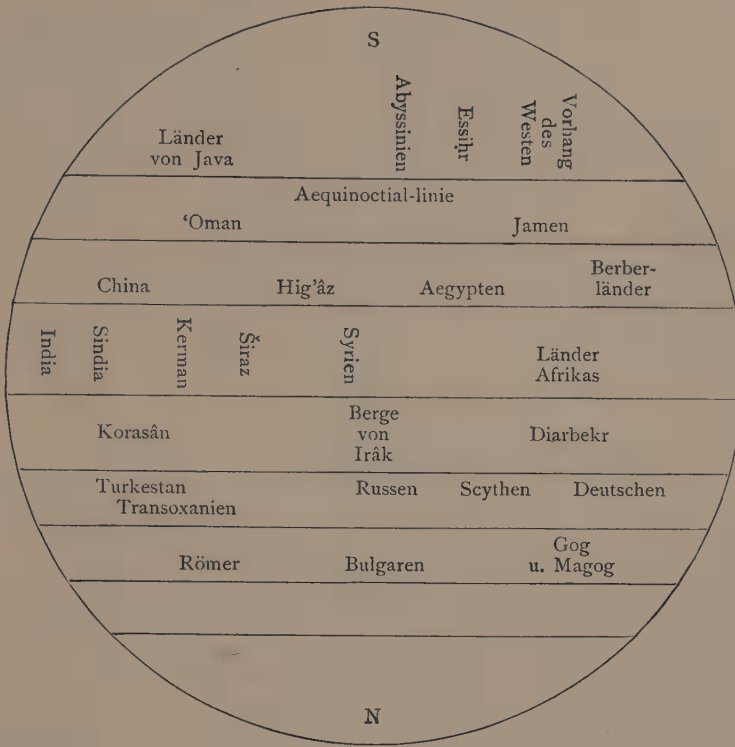
We have shown, then, that his geography, however reinforced by fresh observations, followed the conventional method, and that the seven zones were incorporated in it. But we have done more than this, we have reproduced and recalled the state of learning at the court of King Roger II, and have found that it was exactly the place where such tracts as we are studying would have been welcomed, if they were not actually produced under the stimulus of the royal zeal for Cosmography. The whole court of Sicily was a Royal Geographical Society with Edrisi for President and King Roger for Treasurer. We shall frequently have to allude to Edrisi's work in the following pages.

Without making any attempt at an exhaustive enumeration of the Arabic writers who make maps of the climates, it may not be amiss to give a few more references.

Al-Kazwini (Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud) is another famous African geographer, somewhat later than Edrisi. He died in 1283, and is the author of two famous geographical works, one of which is called *The Wonders of Creation*, the other *Places of countries* [*athar el-belad*]. The former of these works has been translated by Dr Hermann Ethé, from whom I extract the following statement of Kazwini with regard to the climates. It is accompanied by a rude representation of the order and content of the climates on the surface of the Earth.

Wisse dass das bewohnte Viertel sich nun wieder in sieben Abschnitte theilt, deren jeder ein Klima oder eine Zone genannt wird, und aussieht als ob sie ein ausgebreiteter Teppich sei, dessen Länge von Osten nach Westen und dessen Breite von südlicher nach nördlicher Richtung sich erstreckt. Diese Zonen sind nun von verschiedenartiger Länge und Breite: die längste und breiteste derselben ist die erste Zone, denn deren Länge von Osten nach Westen beträgt ungefähr 3000 Parasangen, und ihre Breite von Süden nach Norden ungefähr 150 Parasangen. Die kürzeste aller Zonen an Länge wie an Breite ist die siebente, denn deren Länge von Osten nach Westen beträgt nur ungefähr 1500 Parasangen, und ihre Breite von Süden nach Norden ungefähr 70. Was die übrigen Zonen zwischen beiden betrifft, so ist deren Länge und Breite verschieden, bald etwas mehr, bald etwas weniger. Dies ist die Gestalt der sieben Zonen:

the nonchalance with which it is made: the critics publish with a translation the text of Edrisi's description of Africa and Spain [Leyde, 1866].



Kazwini's adhesion to the system of zones, and the rudeness of the map by which he explains them, will assist our imagination to realize the sources which were available to the author of our tract on the *Climates of Africa*, for if he were really treating of the same climates as the ordinary geographers of the time, he must have either taken them from a book, or from some rude system of cartography such as is found in the Arabic geographers.

We will conclude this part of our enquiry into the meaning of climates in early geography by examining what is said on the subject by the great Arabic scholar Abulfeda.

Abulfeda was born in 1273 A.D. and died in 1331 A.D. His geography has already been quoted by us in the excellent edition of Reinaud and Guyard. To this translation we shall constantly have to refer for the description of the climates and their identification. In his *Prolegomena*¹ Abulfeda says :

¹ p. 8.

“Sache que la plus grande partie du monde habité est située entre le 10° degré de latitude septentrionale et le 50° ¹. Or les hommes de l'art ont divisé cet espace en sept climats, de manière que chaque climat formât une espèce de zone offrant un caractère commun à tous les pays qui en font partie. Les climats s'étendent en long de l'orient à l'occident. Pour leur largeur, elle est comparativement petite: c'est l'espace nécessaire pour que le plus long jour du pays que chaque climat représente ait une demi-heure de plus que le climat précédent.”

Abulfeda's idea of the surface of the earth is illustrated by the following figure²:



¹ The limits are not the same in all geographers.

Shems eddîn Abou Abdallah of Damascus, whose *Manual of Cosmography* was translated by Mehren, makes the climates extend from 12° to $60\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

“Bien que les anciens n'aient pas été d'accord dans leurs opinions sur la division de la terre, les astronomes et les géographes admettent généralement la division de la terre en climats, qui s'étendent du sud au nord depuis le 12° degré de latitude septen-

trionale jusqu'au $62\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ et de l'ouest à l'est, depuis les îles Fortunées et Éternelles situées à une distance de dix degrés dans la mer occidentale ou l'océan jusqu'au bord de la Mer Ténébreuse...un parallèle de l'ouest à l'est fait la frontière du premier climat. Tout ce qui se trouve entre l'Équateur et ce parallèle...est considéré hors des sept climats...sa largeur est de $12\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$, le jour le plus long pendant le solstice d'été durant $12\frac{1}{2}$ heures.”

² It is evidently a circular disc with the equator for one diameter.

In dividing the climates he gives the latitudes of the Northern and Southern boundaries of each zone, the reckoning beginning from the south. The division is as follows:

Climate		Latitude N.
7th extends	{to	$50\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$
	{from	$47\frac{1}{5}^{\circ}$
6th	{to	$47\frac{1}{5}^{\circ}$
”	{from	$43\frac{3}{8}^{\circ}$
5th	{to	$43\frac{3}{8}^{\circ}$
”	{from	$38\frac{9}{10}^{\circ}$
4th	{to	$38\frac{9}{10}^{\circ}$
”	{from	$33\frac{5}{8}^{\circ}$
3rd	{to	$33\frac{5}{8}^{\circ}$
”	{from	$27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$
2nd	{to	$27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$
”	{from	$20\frac{9}{20}^{\circ}$
1st	{to	$20\frac{9}{20}^{\circ}$
”	{from	$12\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$

Abulfeda prides himself on assigning each place to its right climate. He criticises other geographers for their carelessness in this respect;

“la plupart des personnes qui ont publié des tables de longitude et de latitude, ou des ouvrages analogues, n’ont pas tenu un compte exact du climat propre à chaque lieu, et ils ont transporté les lieux d’un climat dans un autre....Pour nous, nous avons fait attention à cela, et nous avons placé chaque lieu dans le climat qui lui appartient.”

And now let us turn to the little document on the Climates of Africa and see whether it is made on the ancient lines which the tradition of Arabic geographers favours, or whether it is merely a rough enumeration of countries. The first glance at the list is discouraging; the writer speaks of five climates. There ought to be only four in which any part of Africa is contained. Most of Sicily, says Ibn Saïd², is in the fifth climate, which practically shuts up proconsular Africa, with the rest of Sicily, to the fourth climate³.

¹ Edrisi on the other hand, according to M. Reinaud, *Proleg. to Abulfeda*, p. cclxxvii, commenced his climates at the equator and terminated them at the 64th degree of latitude, on the supposition that outside these limits the world was not habitable.

² Muhtasir gigrafia.

³ Cf. Amari, *Biblioteca*, p. 63, quoting the

Taqwîm 'al Buldân (Tavola sinottica de' paesi).

“Nel quinto de' climi, comunemente così dette, quello [cioè che abbraccia] le isole de' mari di Ponente [è noverata] la Sicilia, che [sta] realmente [entro i limiti] del quarto clima, nel Mediterraneo, di faccia all' [Africa] proprie.”

Another discouraging sign is that the first climate is said to contain Libya : but it is evident that in enumerating climates from the south to the north, Libya ought to be a good way further on ; it certainly cannot be the first climate.

On the other hand we note that if the writer were really working from south to north, the province of Africa is rightly placed at the end of the list.

Looking closely at the list of climates as given in the Burdett-Coutts MS., we see, amongst other unintelligible matter, the words

ἐς σε οὐδ

descriptive of something in the second climate. This is evidently the name of a place, and stands for *Assiout* on the Nile.

We observe, in the next place, that it is an Arabic name, or more exactly, a Greek transcription of an Arabic name. That it is Arabic is shown by the prefixed article : the Coptic form would be simply Siout¹; it is much the same as if the name of Cairo appeared in English as al Cairo ; we should at any rate know that we were dealing with a bonâ-fide Arabic name². The name, then, is Arabic, the article in its assimilated form, *es-Siout*, shows that. But further it is a transliteration and not simply the borrowing of an Arabic name. Scrivener notes that there is another letter which belongs to the word, and suggests that we read

ἐς σε οὐδζ.

Now the Arabic form of the name is السيوط, and if Scrivener's alternative reading be correct, the δζ of the transcription shows that the writer of the tract has read the final letter as ط, and given a proper Greek equivalent.

If this be correct, he is working either from an Arabic text or from an Arabic map. But, as we shall see presently, it is very doubtful indeed whether Scrivener's reading is correct.

To verify this identification, we remark in the next place that his description of the second climate ends with the word Siout ; this can

¹ The Greek name being Lycopolis.

² The French actually translate the article in such a case, and say *le Caire, au Caire* ;

this may be called an Arabism ; if they said *al Caire* it would be an Arabic transliteration.

only mean that the second climate contains or extends as far as Siout. Is that correct? We can easily test the matter.

Abulfeda's description of Egypt contains the following statement :

p. 154. Osyouth ou Soyouth (ou bien encore Asyouth),
 d'après l'Athoual $22^{\circ} 10'$ N. Lat.,
 ,, le Canoun $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$,
 ,, un auteur $26^{\circ} 48'$.

Osyouth se trouve dans le Sayd, à l'extrémité du deuxième climat.

Edrisi's Geography will also tell us that Siout is in the second climate, though he does not so definitely say that it is in the limit of the climate.

Edrisi's method is to work across the climates from west to east, telling all the countries, cities and peoples passed on the way. For example, he begins his first climate as follows :

"Ce climat commence à l'ouest de la mer occidentale, qu'on appelle aussi la mer des ténèbres. C'est celle au delà de laquelle personne ne sait ce qui existe. Il y a deux îles, nommées les Iles Fortunées, d'où Ptolémée commence à compter les longitudes."

He then works across Africa to Nubia, Abyssinia, and so on to China. When he comes to the second climate, he begins again at the west, and crossing the central parts of Africa he reaches the mountain Taïlamoun. Then he says :

"De la montagne de Taïlamoun à Assiout (Osiout ou Siout), ville considérable sur la rive occidentale du Nil, dont les environs sont très fertiles, on compte une journée de navigation."

It follows that Siout is, according to Edrisi also, in the second climate. We need not hesitate to say that, as far as we have gone, the evidence is in favour of a belief that the climates in our tract are not very different from the conventional zones of the Arab geographers. But here we must pause and reflect : for while it is quite clear that we have rightly identified in our tract the name Siout, and have also proved that the second climate is the right place for Siout, still there is so much that is perplexing or unintelligible in the rest of the tract, that we ought not to draw any definite conclusions until we have a better text of the fragment itself and have eliminated some of the disorder and unintelligibility which characterise it. So leaving the identification of Siout as a certain point which is

clear, and its place in the second climate as a probable explanation, let us return to Scrivener's text and see if we can improve it.

In my tract on the Leicester Codex I quoted only the first two lines of the tract, as follows (p. 65):

Cod. B.-C. pergit. ἔχει δὲ μητροπολίτας ιβ'. Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται. πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη ἢ καλουμένη λούβιε καὶ μαίρακι κτέ.

Upon this Scrivener remarked that the last words were incorrect¹: “μαιάδι, *not* μαίρακι κτέ. as in Harris.”

This note is repeated on p. 57 as follows:

“καὶ μαιάδι (*videtur*: *non* μείρακι with Harris).”

The whole of the text is given by Scrivener from the MS. as we have transcribed it above, and with the variations that we have noted. In order to clear up the disputed reading and to settle the internal dissonances in Scrivener's two presentations of it, I have retranscribed the text from the MS., and here is the result.

Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται².

α. πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη ἢ καλουμένη λούβιε καὶ μαράκι³.

β. δεύτερον κλίμα ἢ μαυρουσία· ἥτοι αἰθιοπία· βελεδ ἐς σε ὄν⁴.

γ. τρίτον κλίμα ἢ βιζακίνα⁵ ἥγουν σέχελ.

δ. τέταρτον κλίμα ἢ νομηδια⁶· ἥγουν ζέβ.

ε. πέμπτον κλίμα ἀφρικὴ ἢ.

And now consider the form in which the tract lies before us, and it will be clear that almost all the unintelligible readings are gone. The names of well-known African provinces spring to light: μαράκι probably stands for μαρμαρική where a syllable

¹ *Adv. Crit. Sac.* p. xx.

² The last three words appear to be wanting in Scrivener.

³ It seems that there is a superfluous iota in my transcription, unless it should be covered by a slight ridge in the vellum. I do not think it is there; and the accent also seems to be wrong. *Scrivener's reading does not exist.*

⁴ Note that Scrivener has mistaken a minuscule β for a μ: they are certainly very

alike in the MS., only μ has a very small stroke to the left: the δ over ου has a curved flourish which Scrivener has read as a ζ: it probably does not mean anything of the kind. There is no ι after βελεδ, the curve of the δ is merely brought down vertically.

⁵ This is what Scrivener reads as ἡμβακ, taking the minuscule β for a μ, and giving a β of the later cursive form for ζ: the four last letters of the word he altogether drops.

⁶ This has been wrongly read as μουμεδα.

has been lost by haplography; *μιβακ* has become the province Byzacene; *μουμεδα* has turned into Numidia.

But this is not all: we removed the impossible word *μελεδι* before Assiout, and restored *βέλεδ*. It is the exact transliteration of the Arabic word for country, introduced no doubt unconsciously by a person acquainted with the language: the second climate is, according to the writer,

the country of Siout.

It is now perfectly certain that the document in question comes from a Graeco-Arabic hand.

In confirmation of the correctness of our transcriptions and interpretation, we append the complete text as it stands in Cod. 346, from photographs which have been supplied to us through the kind offices of Dr Ceriani. The text thus furnished is as follows:

Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλημάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται· πρῶτον κλῆμα ἡ λιβύη· ἡ καλουμένη λούβιε· καὶ μαράκιε. δεύτερον κλῆμα ἡ μαυρουσία· ἥτοι αἰθιοπία· βέλεδες σε οῦδ' (sic)· τρίτον κλῆμα ἡ βιζακινία· ἥγουν σέχελ· τέταρτον κλῆμα· ἡ νοιμεδία· ἥγουν ζέβ· πέμπτον κλῆμα· ἀφρικῇ· ἥγουν καρθαγέννη

where the facsimile should be studied, and the close relation of the MSS. to one another observed. The final words that are added verify our statement that the fifth climate is Proconsular Africa.

There are still a few points doubtful. We ought to be able to clear up the words *σέχελ* and *ζέβ*, as well as one or two residual confusions in the arrangement of the climates.

Of *σέχελ* I cannot speak very confidently: it may, perhaps, be an attempt to transliterate the Arabic ساحل (*saḥil*), which is used for the sea-shore. But on this point I am not quite easy.

More certain is the recognition of *ζέβ* in the name which the Arabic geographers give to the Western Soudan, the hinterland of Numidia, which they call the country of Zab.

And now we come to the residual difficulties, as well as to the previous question whether the climates are zones or provinces. The correction of the text has certainly brought the provinces to the front, and made the conventional zones retire somewhat into the background. It is not necessary for our investigation

into the origin of the group of MSS., to decide the point one way or another. We are quite satisfied with having established a Graeco-Arabic origin for the MSS. that we were engaged on. We will, however, spend a little time in examining the residual difficulties. If the climates are merely districts, the only difficulty of any moment appears to be the equation of *μαυρουσία*, which ought to mean Morocco, with Ethiopia. If, however, they are the ancient zones, we ought to explain also why Libya has the first place. The difficulty with *μαυρουσία* might perhaps be resolved by regarding it as a corruption of Meroë. Meroë is a city and district which has certainly great importance with ancient geographers, and is synonymous with Ethiopia in one of the senses of that geographical term¹.

The importance of the district lay in the assumption of the ancient geographers that the country between the great bend of the Nile was in reality an island, and that in this island of Meroë the traveller would notice the phenomenon that the solar shadow at midday might fall either north or south. Milton, who knew his ancient geography well, catches the point in *Paradise Regained*, where he speaks as follows²:

"Some from farthest south,
Syene, where the shadow both way falls,
Meroë, Nilotic isle, and more to west
The realms of Bocchus to the Blackmoor Sea."

The identification of Meroë and Ethiopia is confirmed by the following passages from Strabo:

Lib. xvii. 2. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς (sc. τοῖς Αἰθιοπικοῖς) βασίλειον ἡ Μερόη, πόλις ὁμώνυμος τῇ νήσῳ· τὴν δὲ νήσον θυρεοειδῆ φασὶ τὸ σχῆμα κτε.

xvii. 3. ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Μερόην τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν πρὸς νότον ἰόντι στάδιοί εἰσι περὶ μυρίου.

The perplexity, then, over *μαυρουσία* may perhaps be removed by a plausible emendation.

There remains, then, the question whether it is possible to arrange the five provinces so as to throw them nearly into agreement with the conventional zones. The only way that I can think of by which the correction can be made is as follows.

¹ E.g. it is customary to refer Queen Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, to the kingdom of Meroë.
² *Par. Reg.* iv. 69.

Remembering that we are certainly working over Graeco-Arabic materials, perhaps even on Arabic documents, it is a fair conjecture that λούβιε in the first climate is merely a misreading for νούβιε, لوبيه having been put for توبيه. The words λιβύη καλουμένη are then a gloss which must be bracketed for removal, as having been introduced to explain λούβιε¹.

We should then rearrange the climates so as to give Ethiopia the first place, and then follow with Nubia. But perhaps it would be wiser to leave the text as it stands and definitely accept a rough enumeration of African provinces in place of the zones.

For our purpose, as we have said, the great value of the investigation lies in the demonstration of the Arabic element in the tract which we have been discussing. No purely Greek scribe or author produced that tract. The writer was bilingual. And the common origin of the Leicester Codex, the Milan Codex and the Burdett-Coutts MS. must be sought for under Arabic influences, amongst a people who to some extent at least are able to read, write and transcribe Arabic, as well as Greek. This at once removes the ancestry of the Leicester Codex from North Italy to either South Italy or Sicily: it makes also the bridge over the Adriatic by which the Burdett-Coutts MS. comes back from Janina into the same region as the Leicester Codex. For the Milan MS. we have already shown the high probability of a Syracusan origin; and bearing in mind the close consanguinity of the three, we shall be justified in labelling them all as Sicilian MSS., if not actually Syracusan. It will be remembered that we have traced the Paris MS., Codex 13, to the same quarter. And, in fact, wherever we can trace the history of the members of the group, the same geographical and chronological unity is apparent. They are Calabro-Sicilian codices of the twelfth century at the highest².

We proceed, in the next place, to confirm our result as to

¹ We have an almost exactly similar case in the tract on the Patriarchates, where the writer speaks of ἡ Λομπαρδία καὶ ἡ νῦν λεγομένη Δογγιβαρδία, where the ancient name Δογγιβαρδία has been replaced by the

more modern form.

² Gregory has dated one of the MSS., that which is now at Athens, in the eleventh century: but this is probably a misapprehension.

the Graeco-Arabic hand in the ancestry of 69—346—543 (to which may in a secondary sense be added Cod. Evv. 211) by proving the same thing for the tract which immediately precedes it.

The tract on the Five Patriarchates was published, in part, by Martin, from Cod. 346, along with the patristic parallels in the works of Nilus Doxapatrius and Leo the Philosopher. To this I added¹ the text of the tract as found in the Leicester Codex and some variants from the Burdett-Coutts MS.

According to Martin, the text of the tract on the Patriarchates in the Ferrar-group is an abbreviation of what we find in Nilus Doxapatrius, who has himself drawn upon the writings of Leo the Philosopher. Nilus, whoever he may be, is known both as to time and place, for we are told in the preface (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxxxii.) that he composed his tract on the Patriarchates for King Roger II of Sicily, when he was in the castle at Palermo, in the year 1143 A.D. We observe that we are taken again into Sicily at the very time when Edrisi was conducting geographical researches for King Roger II. If, then, the group 69—346—543 has been borrowing from Nilus Doxapatrius, we cannot put their common ancestor earlier than 1143. An objection may be taken that, according to Martin, the same tract, with slight variations, is found in the writings of the emperor Leo the Philosopher (A.D. 886—911).

The tract in question is indeed bound up with the works of Leo, but who put it there? The answer is that the Patrology has taken it over from printed editions which run back into an *editio princeps* based upon a MS. in the Vatican Library, but neither the *editio princeps* nor the MS. from which it is taken appears to have the slightest idea that it is from Leo the Philosopher. It is a mere editorial guess. The tract first appeared in the *Geographia Sacra* of Carolus à Sancto Paulo (Carolus Vialart), bishop of Avranches, in 1641. It is merely a parergon appended to the *Geographia Sacra*, and headed

Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῶν ἀγιοτάτων Πατριαρχῶν τῶν ὁροθεσιῶν καὶ συναρίθμησις τῶν ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων

ex vetusto codice MS. Vaticano.

¹ *Leicester Codex*, p. 64.

Not a word, you see, about Leo the Wise. Nor does there seem any reason for inserting that name in preference to Nilus Doxapatrius, to whom the same tract in a somewhat extended form is referred in other MSS., or at all events what seems to be the same tract, with slight variations. Observe, it is not questioned that Nilus Doxapatrius may have used all kinds of sources of information, including lists of episcopates which may run back to Leo the Philosopher, or to any one else. All that we say is that the tract which we find in the Ferrar MSS. is so intimately connected with the tract published in the name of Nilus Doxapatrius, and with another tract, ascribed on insufficient evidence to Leo the Wise, that we are justified in treating them as variants of a single document, to which it seems reasonable to attach the name of Doxapatrius rather than any other.

It is certain that the documents are very closely connected; the internal variations of the text show that: let us take one or two examples.

In the description of the Roman Patriarchate, we are told by Nilus that it extends as far as the setting of the sun, and the pillars of Hercules, and the Ocean, in which Ocean there are waters that are dead and muddy,

ἐν ᾧ εἰσι νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἱλυώδη.

The Leicester Codex says:

ἐν ᾧ εἰσι νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἀκίνητα ὑλώδη.

Cod. 346 says almost exactly the same.

When we turn to Leo the Wise we have, according to Martin,

ἐν ᾧ εἰσιν νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἀκίνητα καὶ ὑλώδη,

i.e. waters that are dead and immoveable and woody.

Clearly the original text of the tradition did not have either ἱλυώδη or ὑλώδη, but ὑαλώδη, *glassy*. The writer of the tract has found out in his geographical researches that the Arctic Ocean is frozen, and he must needs incorporate the information. The authorities are closely related by their error.

Take another instance that lies near at hand. The text of Nilus

Doxapatrius tells us that the Roman Patriarchate contains a part of Sicily and of Calabria, where the following winds blow :

ἐν οἷς διαπλέουσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι Ἄρκτος, Παραίας κτέ.

We translate *διαπλέουσιν* in this way, although it ought literally to be rendered, 'the winds sail about,' for it is clearly only a phonetic variation for *διαπνέουσιν*. We find the same phonetic error in the Codex Bezae¹, and it is not unnatural in view of the relation between the Latin *flo* and the Greek *πνέω*. Now observe that the Cod. 346 has the correct form and reads

ἐν οἷς διαπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι,

and so has the Leicester text.

But what of the text which has been referred to Leo the Wise and taken for the source of all the variant traditions? Leo reads

ἐν οἷς περιπλέοντες διαπνέουσιν ἄνεμοι,

where the error has been conflated with its correction. It is quite clear from this single instance that the supposed text of Leo is not the archetype; *i.e.* it cannot be Leo.

Having said thus much, we may banish Leo, except in the case of materials possibly borrowed from other works of that writer. The tract itself must be labelled Nilus Doxapatrius, and it is reasonable to regard him as the source from which our MSS. derive their knowledge of the patriarchates.

The Abbé Martin, who followed the existing identification of Leo, was, I suspect, influenced by the fact that in the published text ascribed to Leo, the Roman Patriarchate has the first place; it is attractive, as a theory of ecclesiastical pre-eminence, to be able to produce testimony to one's right to a top seat, from some one who is lower down the table. But it ought to have provoked at least a suspicion, as to whether the Emperor of Constantinople was likely so distinctly to have said to Old Rome that her place was at the very front. However that may be, we shall set Nilus to deal with the subject and not Leo.

And this brings us to the important point that we are working towards; who was Nilus? and why is he called Doxapatrius? The cognomen is sufficiently remarkable to provoke criticism. Does it

¹ Luke 12. 55 νότον πλέοντα.

mean *Praise God*, and is he an ecclesiastical double of Praise Barbon in the Long Parliament whom the wits christened anew by the name of Praise God Barebones?

The answer is that the name has nothing to do with the praise of God the Father at all; it is apparently an attempt to imitate a Moslem title, perhaps Abou Hamid or Abou Mohammed. The writer is a converted Moslem, done into Greek and supplied (i) with the name of a famous South Italian saint, viz., Nilus: (ii) with a title that shall replace and imitate his ancient one, 'the father of the praised one,' Doxapatrius.

The result is exactly parallel to what we said of the tract on the Climates, that is, it has passed through Arabic hands, and is derived from Arabic sources. And we are more than ever confirmed in our belief that the same hand wrote the two tracts¹.

Is it possible to identify the hand and to point out the author? We have already seen that Nilus Doxapatrius is one of the savants to whom King Roger II appealed for help. He was at Palermo with the king in 1143, and from the fact that he was singled out to write on the subject of ecclesiastical limits, he appears to have been a person of some distinction. And we have further shown that he was an Arabic scholar and probably a convert from Islam. As we know his place, his date and approximately his name, it ought not to be impossible to identify him.

The Arabic method of supplementary naming of fathers after their sons and of sons after their fathers is open to some confusion when there are more sons than one. For in that case the sons, so far as they are known as ibn Mohammed, will all have the same name, and the fathers will have as many names as there are male heirs²; abu Mohammed, abu Hassan, &c.

We must bear this in mind in searching for the missing Arabic geographer. Our first suggestion is that perhaps the person responsible for the tracts may be Edrisi himself.

¹ In which connexion it may be worth noting that the writer on the Patriarchates uses the word *κλίμα* in the same general sense that we were disposed to attribute to the other tract, which general sense is also found, as we have said elsewhere, in

the writings of Edrisi.

² There will be no confusion in such a case as the English poet has imagined, who commences his work with the line
Abou ben Adhem, may his tribe increase!

Edrisi and Nilus Doxapatrius are certainly contemporary Sicilian sages. They are both in the service of King Roger II, especially in connexion with the Royal Geographical Society of Palermo. Is it possible that we are dealing, not with two Arabic geographers, but with one?

The first objection is that Edrisi's name does not exactly fulfil the requirements. His name is Abu Abdallah Mohammed; and unless we can assume that he had another son besides Abdallah whose name was Hamid or Mohammed, we can hardly equate him with Doxapatrius. On the other hand, it is possible that the Abu is meant to cover both the names that follow, in which case Edrisi is really Abu Mohammed and so is the equivalent of Doxapatrius.

The second objection lies in the ecclesiastical position of Nilus Doxapatrius. It looks as if he were not only a converted Moslem, but even a Christian monk. In the preface to the Greek tract he is called an Archimandrite, and in his own narrative which follows the preface he says that he is not only ready to do 'whatever your Eminence may require,' but that he is also acting under the direction of his ecclesiastical superior (μετὰ καὶ προτροπῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρός μου).

Now we are ready to admit that Edrisi was much in sympathy with Christian circles, for it is certain that he got out of sympathy with the Moslem world. Moslem writers say very little about him, though he is a star of the first magnitude: and M. Quatremère has pointed out that this coolness is explained by the fact that they considered it an act of treason for a descendant of the Prophet, as Edrisi was, to take up his residence at the Norman Court¹.

But it is one thing to make Edrisi a warm friend and loyal servant of Christian princes, themselves the very patterns of religious tolerance, and it is quite another thing to make a monk of him and put him under an ecclesiastical superior, or promote him to the rank of archimandrite. The case, then, for the identification appears to break down, nor does there seem to be a second candidate for the place that seemed at first to be the very one that Edrisi could fill.

There is, indeed, a celebrated geographer named Abu Hamid

¹ *Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 214, 215; quoted in Dozy and de Goeje, p. 11.

who is almost the exact contemporary of Edrisi and Nilus Doxapatrius. We learn from the Introduction to Abulfeda that the first half of the 12th century was occupied by the travels of an Arab from Spain, who would have rendered signal services to geography and natural history, if he could have joined to his natural inquisitiveness a larger measure of criticism and research. Abu Hamid¹ was born at Granada in A.D. 1080, and when he left home on his travels, Sicily was the first place that he visited. The following account of his travels is given by M. Reinaud :

“L’an 511 (1117 A.D.) il se mit en mer et relâcha dans l’île de Sicile. Il passa le reste de cette année et l’année suivante à Bagdad, où il fit quelque séjour. L’an 525 (1131) il s’embarqua sur la mer Caspienne et arriva sur les bords du Volga. Pendant plusieurs années, il parcourut les pays des Khozars et des Bulgars, &c. Il mourut à Damas, l’an 565 (1170). Outre les régions déjà indiquées, Abou-Hamid paraît avoir visité l’Arabie, le Khorassan, l’intérieur d’Afrique et d’autres pays.”

Amari remarks that in his geographical work published in 1162 he speaks of the islands of the Mediterranean and of Etna, but apparently only from descriptions made by others. If this statement be correct he can hardly be credited with the authorship of the tracts we are studying, one of which betrays a close knowledge of Sicily. Moreover there is not the least suspicion that he was not a good Moslem. We conclude, therefore, that although the name and the date of Abu Hamid are such as are satisfactory to the conditions required, the identification with Nilus Doxapatrius cannot be made.

On the whole, then, we have reached a limit in our investigation. The personality of Nilus Doxapatrius seems too decided to be reduced to a mere pseudonym : but as he does not seem to stand for Edrisi and cannot be equated with the Abu Hamid mentioned above, there must be an unknown person in or near the Sicilian court who satisfies the conditions, a contemporary of Edrisi and one who was occupied in the very same researches. To his hand² we

¹ He is sometimes called Abu Hamid and sometimes Abu Abdallah, on account of his two sons, as explained above.

² The question may be asked whether we should not rather say ‘to the hand of some

one who was familiar with his work.’ Strictly speaking, this would perhaps be better. But remembering that two of the MSS. involved are 12th century hands, and that the assumed Abu Hamid is no earlier than the middle of

may refer the original MS. from which the group 69—346—543 is derived. Whether this original MS. is the parent of the whole Ferrar-group remains to be investigated.

the 12th century, there is little probability of another person intervening between Abu Hamid and the parentage of the group in question.

CHAPTER V.

A FEW FURTHER REMARKS ON NILUS DOXAPATRIUS.

WE have now said all that is necessary with regard to Nilus Doxapatrius from the point of view of the New Testament; and having found out by his means the kind of influence which has been at work upon the text of a certain group of New Testament MSS., we might very well leave him, and go on with the main problem of the Ferrar-group and its meaning.

But as there are still some interesting points in the explanation of the tract on the Patriarchates which require to be cleared up, we give a little further space to the tract in question.

We have already pointed out the impossibility of ascribing the tract to Leo the Philosopher; and we are, therefore, thrown back on Nilus and upon his own statements with regard to his work, and upon the MSS. in which that work has come down to us.

According to Nilus' own statement, then, he wrote the tract twice, first when he was at Palermo and then a second time, at greater length, when he was not at Palermo; and on either occasion, at the request of King Roger.

The proof of this lies in his own words:

Πανευγενέστατε Αὐθέντα μου περὶ ἧς μοι ἔγραψας ὑποθέσεως, μέμνημαι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ καστελλίῳ Πανόρμῳ ὦν, ἔγραψα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἀντίληψιν πλὴν οὐχ οὕτω πλατύτερον, ὥς νῦν ἠρώτησας. νῦν δὲ πολλά εἰσι τὰ ἐρωτηθέντα καὶ χρεῖα λεπτοτέρας γραφῆς καὶ διηγήσεως. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παντὸς πόνου καταφρονήσας, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ χρέους ἐστὶν ἀπαραίτητου ὀφειλόμενον, τὸ ὁλοψυχῶς ἐκπληροῦν τὸ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μεγαλυπερόχου ὑπεροχῆς ἐπιταττόμενόν μοι, μετὰ καὶ προτροπῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μου πατρός, πειράσομαι διὰ βραχέων ὅσον τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν, διὰ γραφῆς σαφούς παραστήσαι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα μοι. ἀρκτέον δὲ οὕτω.

We should naturally conclude from this that Nilus had written
(i) a short tract on the Patriarchates and ecclesiastical boundaries,

and then, at renewed request, (ii) a longer tract on the same subject. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the long tract is what passes under the name of Nilus Doxapatrius in the Patrology, which was printed by Le Moyne in his *Varia Sacra* from a MS. at Leyden, which tract is prefaced by the statement that the writer is now going to discuss the matter more at length than upon a previous occasion, and that he is going to reply to fresh questions¹.

If then the tract as presented by Ps. Leo, and in part by the Ferrar-group, is a shorter text, the natural inference is that this stands for, or is derived from, Nilus' first edition.

Now, in order to understand Nilus' tract, we must understand the method of its composition.

He tells us himself that he goes for his information to the geographers ; as follows :

παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς σοφοῖς ἱστορικοῖς τε καὶ γεωγράφοις, εἰς τρία μέρη ἡ οἰκουμένη πάντα διήρηται,

and the opening sentence betrays the method. We have already seen that the methods of the ancient geographers are faithfully imitated and conserved in the Arabic writers on the subject. An Arabic geography contains a description of the climates of the world, and of the countries and cities in the separate climates ; it tells the rivers, the mountains and the roads, marks the number of days that it takes to travel from point to point, discourses of the stars, meteors, winds, &c.

Thus Kazwini's Geography is described as follows by Reinaud (p. cxlv) :

"Les écrits de Kazwini, sans être parfaits, donnent une idée avantageuse de son savoir et l'on fait surnommer *le Pline des Orientaux*.... L'auteur traite successivement des éléments en général, et de chacun en particulier, des météores, des vents, &c. De là il passe à la division de la terre en sept climats, aux différentes mers et aux principales fleuves, etc."

¹ It is interesting to observe that the MS. from which the text was taken was written in Jannina, as late as 1611, so that the text of Nilus had crossed the Adriatic precisely in the same direction as the Burdett-Coutts MS. had done.

The MS. is Cod. Leid., No. 76. The

part referring to our tract is described in the Leyden Catalogue, p. 337, as follows :

Σύγγραμμα Νείλου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Δοξαπρόνου (sic) περὶ τῶν πέντε πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπων καὶ μητροπόλεων (sic).

Sub Rogerio Siciliae rege &c.

Or, to take another instance, the writings of a certain Arabic geographer named Esseriph Essachali¹ are thus summed up by John Leo Afer in his work *De Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus*².

"Esseriph Essachali, e progenie Maumedis, natus est civitate Messara in Sicilia...; fecit quendam librum cujus titulus erat *Nushat alabsar*, hoc est *spatatorium* (si dici potest) *locorum*³, quem divisit in septem partes, secundum mundi climata; et recensere incepit de civitatibus existentibus in eo climate, tum antiquis, tum etiam modernis, et de earum aedificatoribus, et de dirutis earumque causis recensuit; sic etiam meminit de viis inter unam civitatem et aliam, et de mirabilibus earundem, et de natura et moribus et de animalibus uniuscunquē climatis. Postquam narravit de omnibus insulis ab Occidente usque Orientem existentibus, deinde de montibus excelsis, et de fluminibus memorandis, de lacubus, et de origine et ortu eorum, de metallorum numeris, et de omnibus, de quibus natura exornatur."

When we get our ideas cleared as to what Nilus was likely to find in ancient geographies, we begin to see the origin of certain obscure sentences in his book.

For instance why does he bring in a list of winds that blow in the several patriarchates⁴? does the East wind always blow on the Patriarch of Antioch and the South on the Patriarch of Alexandria? The supposition is evidently absurd. It only means that Antioch lies East and Alexandria South. The Abbé Martin, finding the description of Calabria and Sicily followed by a description of the winds that blow there, expressed himself in the following witty manner:

"Nous voilà bien renseignés sur les vents qui soufflent en Calabre et en Sicile! Nous en connaissons au moins les noms. Quant à dire ce que sont ces vents, c'est un problème que nous ne nous chargeons pas de résoudre.

¹ The noble Sicilian (?), as being sprung, like Edrisi, from the loins of the prophet.

² In Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* XIII. 278.

³ Lege *oculorum* (بصر).

⁴ The winds that blow in the Roman Patriarchate are, according to Nilus, "Αρκτος, Παράας, Χώβεως, Ζέφυρος, Δυτικός, καὶ Λιβόντος.

For this Cod. 346 has

Θρισκίας, Παράας, Χώβεως, καὶ ὁ Ζέφυρος Δυτικός, Λιβὸν καὶ Λιβόντος, and Ps. Leo has

Θρασκίας, Ἀρκτῶος, καὶ Ἀπαρκτίας, καὶ Χόρεος ὁ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων κείμενος, ὁ μέσος ὁ Ζέφυρος, ὁ Ἑσπέριος, ὁ Δυτικός, ὁ Λιβὸν, ὁ Λιβόντος.

The writer is clearly 'boxing the compass' from the North to the South-West points. It would be absurd to suppose that in Calabria or anywhere the wind always blew from one half of the sky and never from the other.

Note that there appear to be two zephyrs, ὁ μέσος and ὁ δυτικός.

Nous laissons cette question aux directeurs des bureaux météorologiques.—Que ceux qui veulent en savoir davantage sur cette rose des vents aillent prendre des informations en Calabre ou en Sicile. Nos vœux les accompagnent, qu'ils fassent bon voyage et soient préservés du choléra!"

The humour of this passage is delightful and it is quite a pity to spoil it: but what are we to do, if it should turn out that what Nilus has quoted is really only a bit out of a wind-rose, that is to say, an enumeration of a certain number of points of the compass? We can hardly catch the cholera from the mariner's compass, or from the weather-cock! Nor does it seem necessary to go to Sicily in order to learn the cardinal points, nor to invoke the meteorological service to decide such questions as to whether the Roman patriarchate contains regions lying to the west or to the south-west, nor to put ourselves under the Abbé's prayers before reading Aristotle's Meteorology!

What does come out of the observation on the winds is the anacoluthic character of Nilus' work; he has picked up a number of sentences out of one or two books on geography, and strung them loosely together, without any literary skill.

This helps us to understand what he means when after alluding to the fact that the western ocean has its waters dead and frozen, he goes on to describe a certain island in the western sea, which according to his description is very populous, contains an innumerable host of Christians, the men [? of which island] are big and hardy, as far as Ravenna and the country of the Lombards, &c.:

ἐν ᾧ [ὠκεανῷ] εἰσι νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ὑαλώδη, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῆσός τις εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὠκεανείων πελαγῶν πολὺάνδρος, χριστιανῶν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἔχουσα, ἄνδρες εὐμηκεῖς καὶ ῥωμαλέοι καὶ παναλκέστατοι, ἄχρι Ῥαβέννης κτέ.

Commentators have rushed to the conclusion that he was describing Ireland with its lavish allowance of pristine sanctity. It is much more likely that he was alluding to S. Brandan's Isle, which occupied such a prominent place in the Geographies of the Middle Ages, and of which traces may be found in Edrisi. The populousness, as regards Christians, to which he refers is, however, not that of the island, but of the patriarchate; in the same way the description of the men is only an imitation of the way in which ancient geographers describe the kind of humanity that inhabits the separate

climates. It relates, again, to the patriarchate, and not to the island. The men in this patriarchate, says Nilus, are strong and hardy, and the patriarchate itself extends as far as Ravenna and Lombardy. It will be seen that the whole composition is loosely strung together, and cannot be grammatically interpreted: and it is no wonder if it should turn out that King Roger sent it back, and asked to have it done more in detail.

We have said enough, perhaps, on this point and do not need to burden ourselves with the re-editing of the tract in question. It was certainly written by a Sicilian Christian who had access to books on geography in Arabic and perhaps in Greek. He has done his best to answer King Roger's geographical questions, though it must be owned that the best was not very good.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING OTHER WORKS ASSIGNED TO DOXAPATRIUS.

OUR identification of Nilus Doxapatrius, and our explanation of his peculiar name, is somewhat weakened by the fact that there are traces of the existence of a Doxapatrius in Constantinople and apparently in close connexion with the Imperial Court. Such a discovery would apparently remove Doxapatrius from Sicily, detach him from the Court of King Roger, and consequently, by taking him out of the Arabic environment, render illusory the explanation which we have suggested for his name.

For consider that if we discover a Doxapatrius at Constantinople, he must be either the one we have already found engaged in the geographical delimitation of the patriarchates, or some other. If he is the same, we have to connect him in some way with Constantinople, and to the same extent remove him from Arabic surroundings. If he is a different person, the explanation of his name by Arabic influence becomes altogether unlikely, and should probably be at once discarded as a piece of unnecessary ingenuity. Let us then examine into the further evidences in history and in literature for the clan of the Doxapatrii.

We will begin with a reference to a MS. described by Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum* as the work of a certain Doxapatri who was chief secretary and master of the rolls at Constantinople. The MS. in question is one of the collection of the Basilian Fathers at Rome: and it is referred to the twelfth century. Montfaucon describes it as follows:

“In codice XII. saeculi membraneo Nomocanon Doxapatri jussu Ioannis Comneni imp. editus, ut ex titulo fides, nam sic habet:

Νομοκάνονον (sic) σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον συνοπτικῶς ὅλους τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων καὶ

οἰκουμενικῶν ἐπὶ συνόδων, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου, καὶ ἑτέρων θεοφόρων πατέρων, ἐρμηνευθὲν προτροπῇ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, παρὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου διακόνου τῆς Θεοῦ Μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, καὶ νομοφύλακος τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας, πατριαρχικοῦ νοταρίου, καὶ πρωτοπροέδρου τῶν πρωτοσυγγέλλων Δοξαπάτρη. A.D. 1119 — 1143.

Deinde sequuntur canones cum explicationibus Doxapatriis."

So far Montfaucon; and it must be admitted that the description does not savour of Sicily, but of Constantinople. The conviction is deepened by observing that the wealth of titles lavished upon the collector of the Canons intimates the autograph of the collector. No one else would have so sedulously enumerated the details of his 'little brief authority.' The person who added up the long list of decorations in the preface must have been in consanguinity with Mr Justice Shallow, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, who is careful to emphasize the fact that he is Robert Shallow, esquire, in the County of Gloucester, justice of the peace, and Custos Rotulorum, who writes himself Armigero in any bill, warrant, quittance or obligation. But if the preface go back, either wholly or in part, to Doxapatrius himself, it may well be urged that it is demonstrated that we are to find him in Constantinople and not in Sicily. There is, however, further evidence with regard to the MS. in question which goes quite in the opposite direction. It will be observed in the first place that the fact of the MS. being found amongst the Basilian Collection at Rome is a strong presumption that it came thither from one of the South Italian monasteries. Examination of the supplementary notes contained in the book leads to a similar result, as will be seen from the following considerations.

It was pointed out by Montfaucon in his *Paleography*, pp. 62, 302, that at a very early stage of its history this book was in Arabo-Sicilian hands. It contains certain entries made by a thirteenth-century owner, as follows, relating to family joys and sorrows, such as usually are recorded in the big Bible of the household:

κατὰ τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον μῆνα εἰς τὴν ιη' τῇ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλῃ τρίτῃ, ὥρα θ', ἰνδικτ. ζ', ἔτει A.D. 1234. ,5ψμβ' ἐγεννήθη ἡ θυγάτηρ ἐμοῦ σινάτορος τῆς κριτ', ἡ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι ὀνομασθεῖσα Ἀλφάξαν, βασιλεύοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοστέπτου μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων καὶ αἰὶ Αὐγούστου Φρεδδερίκου, δεκάτῃ τετάρτῃ χρόνῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σικελίας τριακοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ, Ἱερουσαλὴμ δὲ ἐνάτῳ.

κατὰ τὸν Σεπτέμβριον μῆνα εἰς τὴν ιη' ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἰνδ. θ', ἔτει ,5ψμδ' ἡ A.D. 1236.

σύζυγος ἐμοῦ σινάτορος τῆς κριτῆς, κυρὰ Γουάζρις, ἐγέννησε παιδίον δεύτερον ἄρσεν, ὅπερ ὠνομάσαμεν Μιχαήλ, ὑπὲρ οὗ μεγάλη χάρα παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγεγόνει· οὕτω δὲ βαθείας ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης ἡ προρρηθείσά μοι σύζυγος τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ κυρίῳ παρέδωκε, καὶ ἡμέρα τετάρτη τοῦ ῥηθέντος μηνὸς εἰς τὴν ιβ' ἐντίμως ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου τῆς ἀχειροποιήτου, καταλείψασα τὰ ῥηθέντα δύο παμφίλτατά μοι τέκνα, τὴν Ἀλφάξαν καὶ τὸν Μιχαήλ, οἷς ὁ θεὸς δόξη προκοπὴν καὶ αὐξησιν, ἐκείνη δὲ ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν δικαίων χοροῖς.

Upon these entries Montfaucon noted: "hic vero Senator Arabicae originis fuisse videtur ex nominibus: nam Arabes, qui Siciliam obtinuerant, domiti post Nortmannis paruerunt."

Certainly the notes, with their mixture of traces of Greek and Arabic life, with an occasional dash of Latin, betray the fact that the MS. was in Sicily or Calabria in the 13th century¹. Yet we should hardly have expected this, but for the existence of the fragments of the family registers. If the book was ever in Constantinople, it did not long remain there: and it is open to question whether it ever was there at all.

We remark further that amongst the contents of the book, which is chiefly made up out of the canons of councils and synods, there is a tract on the seven oecumenical councils. We strongly suspect, though we are not able to verify the suggestion, that this tract agrees, wholly or in part, with the tract on the same subject which we find embedded in the Leicester Codex of the New Testament, which is described in my book on that MS. as

The explanation of the Creed and the Seven Councils:

πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα θεὸν κτέ.

The same tract, with slight variations, will be found in Le Moyne, *Varia Sacra*, I. p. 118.

If it should turn out to be a part of the Nomocanon ascribed to Doxapatrius, we should have one more tract added to the Doxapatrian group in the tradition of the Ferrar MS.

In any case it will be clear, from the coincidence of dates and places, and the similarity of the matters discussed, that there are not two Doxapaters, but one. We may not say that Doxapatrius never

¹ I see from Batiffol's description of this MS. in his *Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 57, that it is from the library of St Maria of Rossano, for he quotes from fol. 155 the note of the copyist

given above as to the burial of his wife in the church, τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου τῆς ἀχειροποιήτου, and points out that this is the cathedral church of Rossano.

was in residence or in office at Constantinople, but we may decline to treat him as other than a Sicilian or Calabrian. So far, so good ; for if he is a Sicilian, there is nothing against our explanation of his name : as far as we have gone, we are dealing with a single personality of the twelfth century. But, having proved this, we have to face the fact that more Doxapaters begin to come upon the scene !

For example, Oudin, in his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, t. II. p. 1180, tells us that there is in the Imperial Library at Vienna a MS. by a certain *Nicolaus* Doxapatrius.

"Extat autem in codice MS. Graeco-historico bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis cod. 47, mem. 2, ut habet Petrus Lambecius tom. viii. Commentariorum hujus Bibliothecae p. 457, his verbis. Secundo et quidem a fol. 125, pag. 1 usque ad fol. 153, pag. 1, Nicolai notarii patriarchalis magnae ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, et proto-proedri syncellorum, simul etiam nomophylacis imperii Romanorum, cognomine Doxapatri, Expositio in S. Gregorii Nazianzeni Tetrasticha iambica, et alia ejus nonnulla carmina. Inscribitur ea atque incipit hoc modo. Νικολάου τῆς Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας πατριαρχικοῦ νοταρίου, καὶ πρωτοπροέδρου Δόξα πατρί, ἐξήγησις τῶν τετραστίχων ἱαμβικῶν, παραινετικοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου."

A comparison of the titles here given to the notary with those in the previous case is conclusive that the same person is intended. Nicolaos is to be equated with Nilus. The evidence for Constantinople is increased, but that which makes for a Sicilian origin is not diminished.

We have now shown that three Doxapaters are in reality one and the same person. But we are not yet out of the wood.

On turning to the *Biographie Universelle* under the name Doxapater, we come across traces of another individual of that name, apparently distinct from the three foregoing cases. This time it is a student of rhetoric.

The reference is as follows :

Doxipater (Δοξίπατρος) ou *Doxopater* (Jean), grammarien ou rhéteur Byzantin, vivait probablement vers la fin du onzième siècle de l'ère Chrétienne. Nous avons sous son nom un commentaire étendu sur Aphthonius : il a été imprimé pour la première fois par les Alde, en 1509 : on le trouve aussi dans les *Rhetores Graeci* de Walz : (Stuttgart, 1832—1836). Ce commentaire porte le titre d' 'Ομιλῖαι εἰς Ἀφθόνιον : il est extrêmement diffus et occupe plus de 400 pages. Il est plein de longues citations de Platon, de Thucydide, de Diodore, de Plutarque et des Pères de l'Église. Les explications de l'auteur sont empruntées à d'anciens commentateurs

d'Aphthonius. On a aussi, sous le nom de Doxipater, un ouvrage du même genre, intitulé *Προλεγόμενα τῆς ῥητορικῆς*. Comme l'auteur y fait mention de l'empereur Michel Calaphates on peut le regarder comme postérieur à l'année 1041. Ce traité a été imprimé dans la *bibliothèque Coislin* p. 590, dans l'ancienne édition de la *Bibliotheca Graeca* de Fabricius et dans les *Rhetores Graeci* de Walz, t. vi. Enfin, on a de Doxipater un *Commentaire sur le Traité de l'Invention* inséré dans les *Anecdota Oxoniensia* de Cramer (1837, t. iv.)."

The article to which we refer lays a mass of works on grammar and rhetoric on the back of a certain Doxapater, whom it assigns to the ninth century. It becomes, therefore, necessary to examine some of the references. For, if he should turn out to be a ninth-century writer on rhetoric, he clearly cannot be the same as Nilus Doxapatrius in the twelfth: moreover, in that case, a clan of Doxapatrii would have to be recognised, and not a single individual.

The criticism of the sources of these tracts and commentaries upon the writers of rhetoric is not very easy: but a very little study will show that much of the matter is edited and re-edited under different names; for example, a great deal of what is claimed for Nilus passes under the name of Troilus; and some of the material becomes anonymous when we go far enough back.

For example, the introductory tract to which the *Biographie Universelle* refers, is found in a MS. which, according to Montfaucon, belongs to the tenth century. It is anonymous, as far as we can judge from Montfaucon's text, which is followed by Fabricius. This appears to be fatal to the authorship of Doxapatrius¹; as it is also fatal to the assumed reference to Michael Calaphates in 1041, a reference, indeed, which we fail to verify.

On the other hand it seems clear that the text was written in Sicily: the writer discusses the employment of rhetoric (i) by the gods; (ii) by heroes and demi-gods; after which he discusses the subject historically, and finds the origin of rhetorical studies *in Sicily, and in particular at Syracuse*. He becomes diffuse on the subject of Sicily and tells stories of famous Sicilian rhetoricians, of whom we may fairly count him a descendant. There is, however, as we have said, not the least necessity to credit the ascription of the work to Doxapater.

¹ Walz points out that it is not only in the Coislin MS. that the reference to Doxapater is wanting, but that 'titulus hic nullius codicis auctoritate nititur.' It appears to be a mere guess.

Turn in the next place to the 'Commentaire sur le traité de l'invention' which is mentioned in the *Biographie Universelle*. Here we are on firmer ground in making a reference to Doxapater as author; for according to Walz (*Rhet. Gr.* vol. VI.) this treatise on the work of Hermogenes *περὶ εὐρέσεως* is headed in Cod. Barocc. 175 as *Ἰωάννου Σικελιώτου τοῦ λεγομένου Δοξαπατρί*, and in Cod. Paris. 2922 as *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δοξαπατρή*. To the same authority is ascribed in Cod. Med. LVII. 5 the work

ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὰς ἰδέας τοῦ Ἑρμογένους ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἰωάννου φιλοσόφου τοῦ Σικελιώτου,

and in Cod. Med. LVII. 5 and Cod. Vindob. XVI. the work entitled

τοῦ Δοξαπατρή Ἰωάννου ὁμιλίας εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀφθονίου προγυμνάσματα.

If we are to treat these headings as trustworthy, we can only say that they represent works on rhetoric by Sicilian hands: the date of the writer has never been satisfactorily determined, and it is perplexing that he should here be called *John* Doxapater and not Nilus or Nicolaus. The nationality, however, stands out with sufficient clearness: so that the main difficulty would be the reconciliation of John with Nilus, or the accurate distinction of one of them from the other. We shall leave the perplexity to be resolved by further and future investigation. Perhaps the explanation may be that Doxapater had published a fresh edition of the works of John the Sicilian, and that their names have run together in the title-page.

One other literary trace of the perplexing Doxapater has come to my notice. There is in the Cambridge University Library a MS. collection of Sibylline oracles in Latin (Mm. I. 16), which is described as follows in the Catalogue:

Mm. I. 16. (xivth cent.)

ff. 24—46^a.

Excerpta de libro qui dicitur Vasilographus qui interpretatur imperialis scripta¹, quam Erithea Babilonica tempore Priami regis ad petitionem Graecorum edidit, quem de Caldeo sermone in Graecum Doya peritissimus transtulit de herario Hemanuel imperatoris eductum. Eugenius regni Siciliae ammiratus de Greco transtulit in Latinum.

Here *Doya peritissimus* is a scribe's blundering reproduction of *Doxapatrius*: and we have the statement that Doxapater obtained

¹ I. scriptura ?.

a MS. from the treasury of the Emperor Manuel, which MS. was written in Chaldean; he turned it into Greek, and presumably called the translation *Βασιλόγραφος*. A famous Sicilian admiral (for so we must render *ammiratus*, with reference etymologically to the Arabic *emir*) made a further translation from Greek into Latin. Extracts from this translation are contained in the MSS. which we have been describing.

A similar MS. is in the Library of Corpus Christi College, where it is described as follows:

Cod. cxxxviii. (saec. xv).

§ 8. Liber extractus de libro qui dicitur Vanlographo, i.e. imperialis scriptura, quam Sibilla Erithea Babilonica condidit ad petitionem Graecorum, ipsa Priami regis Trojae filia; quem Vedoxa peritissimus pater in Graecum transtulit de Caldeo; tandem de errario Emmanuelis imperatoris Graecorum editum Eugenius regni Siciliae admiratus [cod. admiratus] de Graeco transtulit [cod. + in latinum].

Here we have clearly the same work as before: *Vanlographo* must be at once corrected to *Vasilographo*; while the reading *Vedoxa peritissimus pater*, which is a conflation of [Ve]doxa peritissimus and [Ve]doxa pater, must be restored to *Doxapater*¹.

The book purports to be the prophecy of a certain Sibyl. That it also professes to be translated from Chaldean is worthy of the same confidence that we should give to the Sibylline authorship. It is a mere literary artifice, like that which is used in a certain apocalypse assigned to Methodius of Patara which an angel brought to him in Hebrew and Greek. A mere glance at the extracts shows that there is no truth whatever in the statement. The prophecy opens in the Cambridge University MS. in the following style:

Exquiritis me o illustrissima turba Danaum quot Graios eventus Frigiasque ruinas in scriptis referam.

This is in Hercules' vein, but the lofty measure can hardly be said to Hebraize. But that is not all; it doesn't look like translation

¹ Amari (*Storia dei Musulmani*, III. 661) examined four MSS. of the work in Paris. His note is as follows: "Son essi notati: MSS. Latins, Anciens Fonds, 3595, 6362, 7329, e Sorbonne 316, dei quali il primo e il

terzo sembrano del xiv secolo, il secondo del xv, e il quarto è del xvi. Il libro è intitolato anche, *Vasilographi id est imperialis* nel 6362." The name of the author is given as *Toxapater*, *Dox pater* or *daxopetri*.

from Greek. The expressions are Virgilian, and a very little change is necessary to throw the opening into Latin Hexameters. A translator from the Greek would not have given us *Graios eventus*, nor would he have found in the description of the Trojan downfall in a Greek text the very Virgilian 'Phrygiasque ruinas.' But if we are dealing with Sibylline doggrel in Latin, there is as little need to invoke Doxapater as the Sibyl: nor have we to take the trouble to justify the reference to the Admiral Eugenius.

A glance at the Sibylline prophecy is sufficient to show that the events recorded are those of the Italian history from the time of the Lombard invasion onwards, and the fortunes or misfortunes of the leading Italian cities are clearly intimated. The margins of the text are usually accompanied by explanations of the places described. The rise of the two great monastic orders is spoken of as a sign of recovery (*restauratio*), in the shape of two stars, against which the scribes have written the identification with the Franciscan and Dominican orders: if this is correct, the prophecy must be as late as the thirteenth century¹. We, clearly, need not trouble over Eugenius or Doxapater at such a date. They are as mythical as the Sibyl. But even if the names are imaginary, they have a geographical value. Eugenius was known in Sicily as the translator of the Optics of Ptolemy out of Arabic, and Doxapater has also, as we have seen, a Sicilian reputation: it is a legitimate inference that this peculiar Sibylline composition emanated from the country to which its assumed translators belonged. We have now said all that needs to be said in this connexion with regard to Doxapater. As we pointed out above, the chief residual difficulty is to explain how he is both John the Sicilian and Doxapater. The subordinate question as to his possible connexion with Constantinople may also be left. Perhaps Doxapater was himself the Basilographus, and his supposed book named after him; but I do not know how to demonstrate the use of the title².

¹ Cf. Amari, p. 660, "gli avvenimenti ai quali si allude sotto strano velame di leoni, serpenti, aquile, vulcani, tremuoti, tempeste del cielo e misfatti degli uomini, sono evidentemente quei che commossero l'Italia e

l'Europa nel duodecimo e decimoterzo secolo."

² I see that Batiffol draws attention to another work of Nilus Doxapatrius (*Abbaye de Rossano*, p. 93). It is the MS. Vat. 1426,

and is described as a *Historia novi Adam*. This MS. was copied from one made in 1213, by Simeon Boulcaramos of Messina for Lucas the Archimandrite, of the MS. of San Salvatore of Messina. No doubt that the Nilus Doxapatrius is our author. Observe how close the MS. from which Cod. 1426 is taken was to the time of Nilus; also that we are still in Sicily; note likewise the Arabic name that lies behind *Boulcaramos*, for does not this stand as a Greek form of *Abou Al Karim*? Here is another converted Arab writing Greek MSS.

There is also in the *Inventaire des MSS. du Saint Sauveur de Messine* which Batiffol has published (l. c. p. 128 sqq.) another trace of Doxapater, as follows:

[21] Fragmenta quaedam cujusdam libri Nili Indoxaprimi, continens acta septem conciliorum et disputationes quasdam sacras.

This is no doubt our Nilus Doxapatrius, and perhaps the tracts referred to may turn out to be the very ones contained in the Ferrar-group.

CHAPTER VII.

HINTS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION.

WE have now, by the help of Nilus Doxapatrius, carried at least a part of the Ferrar-group into Graeco-Arabic surroundings in Sicily in the twelfth century : and in proving this for the group 69—346—543 we are helped to take a further step by the observation that the Venice Codex 211 has the same appended matter, and is itself a Graeco-Arabic Codex. We shall, therefore, suggest that this subordinate group is descended from a Graeco-Arabic bilingual, apparently of the twelfth century. And here some important considerations suggest themselves.

It is not necessary, as far as our investigations into the history of the group have gone, to assume any higher date than this for the ancestry of the whole Ferrar-group. The MSS. are none of them to be referred to the eleventh century, much less to any earlier date. True, Gregory has suggested that the Athens MS. Cod. Evv. 788 is of the eleventh century, but we venture to question the dating ; every one, who works at these matters, knows how perfidious the judgment often is, in deciding between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We may suspect that this MS. has been antedated a century and wait for the verification of our audacity. And we shall say that, as far as we have yet gone, the Ancestry of the Ferrar-group is not necessarily higher than the twelfth century, and this almost invites us to send the much-vaunted lost uncial, from which they are supposed to be derived, into the limbo of unnecessary hypotheses.

But if this be so, then we may modify another hypothesis.

It will be remembered that, in writing on the Ferrar-group, we explained the double registration of its verses as *ῥήματα* and

στίχοι as being the result of the retranslation of a Syriac word which was meant to express merely the conventional στίχοι: and we argued from this in favour of a direct Syriac re-action upon the Greek text of the group, by which many of its peculiarities might be at once explained.

But obviously we do not need to invoke a *direct* Syriac influence, when we have a proved and demonstrated Arabic influence; if the Arabic be itself derived from the Syriac, the supposition of Arabic influence carries and includes the supposition of Syriac influence, and we have no need to multiply hypotheses in order to explain the re-actions. Let us then see whether this supposition of Arabic influence can fairly be applied to the whole group.

Observe that the existence of the double count of ῥήματα and στίχοι is certainly characteristic of the Ferrar-ancestry. Does it appear anywhere else, and at an earlier date than that which we have suggested for the Ferrar origin? The MSS. in which Gregory has noted the double numeration are as follows:

Ev. 9	A.D. 1167 (fortasse in Sicilia exaratus).
„ 9 ^a	saec. XV. a copy of the foregoing (written in North Italy).
„ 13	saec. XIII. (Ferrar-group).
„ 48	saec. XII. (not a Ferrar).
„ 163	saec. XI.
„ 168	saec. XIII.
„ 173	saec. XII. vel XIII. (a Basilian MS.).
„ 174	A.D. 1052 (a Basilian MS. and certainly Calabrian).
„ 211	saec. XII. (the Graeco-Arabic MS.).
„ 230	A.D. 1013 (now in the Escorial).
„ 233	saec. XIII. (al. XI.) (now in the Escorial but formerly at Venice).
„ 345	saec. XI. (at Milan).
„ 346	saec. XII. (Ferrar-group).
„ 427	saec. XIII.
„ 507	saec. XI. (from Pantocrator).
„ 543	saec. XII. (Ferrar-group).
„ 592	saec. XV. (at Milan).
„ 709	saec. XI. (from Rhodes, not a Ferrar ¹).
„ 715	saec. XIII.
„ 716	saec. XIV.
„ 826	saec. XII. (ῥήματα not noted by Gregory) (Ferrar-group).
„ 828	saec. XII. (Ferrar-group).
„ 873	saec. XI. (Calabrian).

¹ So Lake, who denies the existence of the ῥήματα.

The foregoing list is instructive; seven of the MSS. which show the reckoning of *ρήματα* go back to the eleventh century; nine of them are traced to a Calabro-Sicilian origin, of which five belong to the recognised Ferrar-group. The result certainly encourages the belief that the reckoning of the *ρήματα* is a Sicilian phenomenon, occurring for the first time at least as far back as the beginning of the eleventh century, but probably not much earlier. Everything, therefore, tends to a belief that the phenomenon is Arabic rather than Syriac: and this means that the hypothesis of Arabic influence can be applied to the whole group and not merely to a subordinate section of it.

What further can be said in the way of suggestion for the final elucidation of the riddle appears to lie in the direction of a Graeco-Arabic bilingual, in which the columns have reacted on one another, which we showed to be probable for certain members of the group. This finds, as we said above, its confirmation in the Venice MS. 211, which is an actual bilingual of the kind suggested, and with the very same tracts appended which we have been discussing, together with some other pieces that are more or less represented in the Ferrar-family. Its text does not, indeed, appear, from the single page which we have examined, to be the Ferrar-text. If it were, the argument from it would be almost final. As it is, the text seems to have been altered, and we can only suggest that it looks outwardly like what the Ferrar-ancestor may have been. We may call it a Pseudo Ferrar MS.

Two directions open before us in which investigation appears to be imperative, if the foregoing suggestions are to be tested and verified. One of them is the examination of all the MSS. showing a similarity of textual arrangement with the leading members of the Ferrar-group. For example, the MSS. which have the numbered *ρήματα* ought to be further tested for Sicilianism or Calabrianism. We should then speak more confidently on the geographical origin of the phenomenon in question.

Another direction is the search amongst the existing Arabic Gospels for a text which answers to the Ferrar-text. If such a text could be found, it is probable that so many of the Ferrar readings could be explained by re-translation from it, that we should

be able to banish the Ferrar-readings from the apparatus of the New Testament; these readings would only be veiled Arabisms and doubly-veiled Syriasms; they would thus only survive (if one may indulge in a Hibernianism) in their ancestors.

But, on the other hand, the problem may not turn out to be quite as simple as is here suggested. And the proof of the Arabic reaction needs to be carefully reinforced.

In proving or testing for Sicilianism or Ferrarism amongst the MSS. tabulated above, we must be to a large extent dependent upon fresh examinations and further collations. It is, however, interesting to note that in the case of some of the MSS. referred to, including the least accessible of them, the Ferrarism, or the Sicilianism, can be clearly made out.

Let us begin with the first MS. on our list. This is our Cod. Evv. 9, alluded to above as being probably Sicilian. On turning to Montfaucon we find the reason for calling it Sicilian, for it has a subscription as follows, in the hand of Solomon the notary¹.

A.D. 1168. ἔτελειώθη δὲ ἐν ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, σ'χοσ', ἰνδ. α' κτέ, βασιλεύοντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μανουὴλ τοῦ πορφυρογενήτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου βασιλέως· καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀμαρρῇ τοῦ κραταιοῦ ῥίξ. ἐν δὲ τῇ νήσῳ Σικελίας Γουλλιέλμου τοῦ δευτέρου ῥηγός· ἐφ' ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. ψ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

The Latinisms are sufficient evidence that the MS. is Sicilian and not from Jerusalem or Constantinople. Even without the Latinisms, the Sicilian origin is almost certain. We note in passing that Montfaucon says that the MS. has also the tract on the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection, which he transcribes. This tract is also found (*v. supra*) in Codd. 211 and 346. Next return to

¹ Montfaucon says *νοταρίου Σολομώντος ἀπὸ Νοταρίων*, but Gregory thinks the last words denote the locality in which Solomon lived. Batiffol gives a fresh transcription of this note made for him by Omont, according to which the MS. was written *ὑπὸ χειρὸς.....νοταρίου Σολομῶν ὁ ἀπὸ Νότου*. (Noto is in Sicily, a little to the south of Syracuse.) If it were not for this express testimony from an expert, I should have guessed that the perplexing characters stood for *Πανορμιτάνων*, and that

Solomon is Notary to the city of Palermo, the name being written in detached letters ΔΟΤΑ, or something of the kind. But ΠΝΡΜΙ I gather that this is not so.

From Noto it passed into North Italy, where it became the parent of the MS. Cod. 9^a, which is now in Oxford. This MS. appears to have been transcribed in the 15th cent. for an Augustinian house, perhaps at Pavia or Ficino (Gregory).

the Escorial MS. Evv. 230 and let us see whether we can connect it also either with Sicily or with the Ferrar-group. The MS. was examined and in part collated by Moldenhawer for Birch.

Moldenhawer describes his work on it as follows :

“ Accurate contuli Matt. i—v., xxiii., xxiv. John i—v. 4, xvi. Praeterea codicem tractans potiora et horum et reliquorum Evangeliorum loca adii, ubi a textu vulgari dissensus vel cum ipso conspiratio adjudicandi de codicis indole ac pretio facultatem conferre censetur. Antequam de nostro sententiam proferam, hic commemoranda erit lectionis e Joanne excerpta varietas.”

The readings which he gives are as follows, to which we append any attestation from the original Ferrar-group.

John i. 28	βηθανια	124 (not Ferrar reading?).
32	ὡσει] ως	124 „ „ „
36	ἰδε + ὁ χριστος	124.
38	δε —	124.
40	δε —	four.
44	αυτω + ο Ιησους (l. Ιησους)	13. 124. 346.
52	και καταβαινοντας —	
ii. 22	αὐτοις —	124.
23	εν τοις Ιεροσ.	four.
iii. 2	τον Ιησουν] αὐτον	four.
27 (l. 19)	αὐτων πονηρα	four.
20	αὐτον + ὅτι πονηρα ἐστιν	13. 346.
27	ἀνθρωπος + ἀφ' ἑαυτου	four.
33	λαβων] λαμβανων	124.
36	την ζωην	four.
iv. 35	τετραμηνος	four.
41	ἐπιστευσαν + εἰς αὐτον	four.
v. 4	asteriscis notatur.	
15	ἀπηλθεν + οὐν	13. 124. 346.
vii. 53	και ἀπηλθεν ἐκαστος	four.
Ab his inde verbis usque ad [viii. 11 cuivis lineae asteriscus miniatus appingitur.		
viii. 2	και πας ad αὐτους —	four.
3	ἀγουσιν δε] και προσηνεγκαν αὐτω	four.
	επι μοιχεια	four.
	εν τω μεσω	69. 124. 346.
4	λεγουσιν] εἶπον	four.
	κατειληφθη] εἰληπται	four.
5	ἡμιν Μωσης	four.
	λιθοβολεισθαι] λιθαζειν	four.
	λεγεις] περι αὐτης	four.

6	κατηγοριαν κατ' αὐτου·	four.
	ὁ δὲ Ἰησους κυψας εγραψεν	four (?)
7	εἶπε αὐτοις	four.
	πρωτος λιθον βαλετω ἐπ' αὐτην	four.
9	γην και ἐξηλθον εἰς καθ' εἰς	13. 69. 124.
	μονος —	13. 69. 124.
	μεσω οὔσα· ἀναβλεψας δε ὁ Ἰησους εἶδεν	
	αὐτην και εἶπεν· γυναι που εἰσιν; οὔδεις	
	σε κατεκρινεν	four ?
11	Κύριε· ὁ δὲ Ἰησους εἶπεν αὐτη· ουδε	124. [13. 69. 346.]
	In hac pericopa omni fere perpetuo facit cum 69.	
xvi. 7	ἐαν γαρ + ἐγω	four.
11	περι δε κρισεως ex emend.	
16	ἐγω —	four.
20	θρηνησετε] πενθησετε	124.
22	υμεις μεν λυπεν (l. λυπην) μεν	69.
33	ἐξετε] ἐχετε.	

It will be admitted that this MS. is a Ferrar MS. It may not have the textual displacements, but it clearly has the readings. It would be superfluous to enlarge on this. The MS. which Moldenhawer calls *Escorialensis* 9, but which we call *Evu.* 230, must be added to the list of Ferrar MSS. We may not, as yet, see how it reached the Escorial from Sicily, but it must have come from that neighbourhood, probably by way of Venice.

A similar investigation ought to be made for all the MSS. in the list given above, as containing the *ρήματα* and the *στίχοι*. We are confident that in many cases they will betray their origin and their textual affinities.

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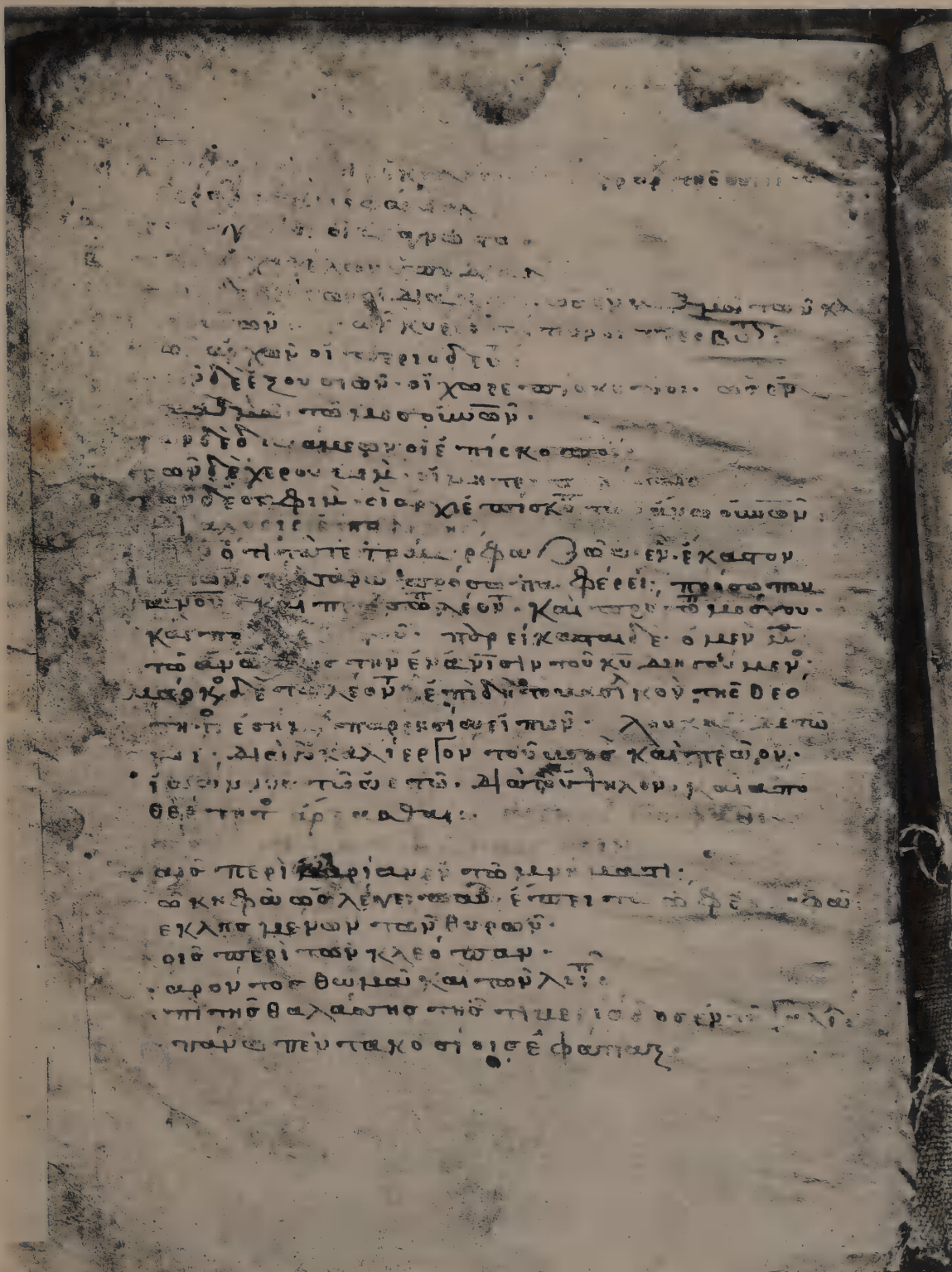
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πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοις τοιαῦτα λέγουσιν οἱ πεποιθότες
 αὐτοὶ καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἂν τινεὶ δῶσιν κ' ὀφείλοντα
 χρήματα, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκέρχῃ ὁ πῆρ' ὅτι ἄλλο
 ἀδικοῦντα θάμνεν οὐκ οὐκ ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀ
 νήρ γινώσκται τιμωρῆσθαι πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦ
 τούς· καὶ ἂν ἐρμῆλλον εἶσαι τοὺς παροῖς· καὶ ἂν
 ὡν ἔτι περὶ αὐτὰ ἀκούῃ καὶ ὅρα τὸν ἐμὴν
 τὰ αὐτῶν περὶ ἄλλοντας. **Εὐ** τὴ πόλιν ἐκίθησιν
 τὰς καλοῦ μένους καὶ ἐνδομὴν ῥώλοισιν ὄντας·
 τοὺς δὲ μέγα αὐτῶν τιμωμένους τὰς καὶ ἂν περ
 νοῦμένους· τότε δὲ ὅντες παῖτα τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἀκούωντες καὶ ὅρωντες ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνόματά αὐτοῦ
 γινώσκοντες ἄλλων ἐλπομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 τέρων τούτων τοῦ μὲν παροῖς αὐτὸς λόγιον ἐν τῷ
 θυμῷ ἄρδοντες τε καὶ αὐχέοντες· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
 τότε αὖτις θυμὸς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὁμοῦ δατόμην
 καὶ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι τῷ θυμῷ· ὁμιλίαι δὲ τῶν
 τῶν ἄλλων καπαῖς καὶ χρῆσθαι τὴν τόμην ὅσον
 νόμος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τέρων τούτων ἐλθε· ἡ γὰρ
 ἐν αὐτῷ ἀρχὴν παρὶδω καὶ τῶν μέσων καὶ φι
 λονόμων καὶ θυμῷ· καὶ ἂν ἐν τῷ θυμῷ
 τὰ καὶ φιλότιμος ἀνὴρ· νομίσαι μὲν ἐφ' ἑσθίας
 τῷ τούτων γινώσκοντες ὅσον ἐλθε· ἐλθε

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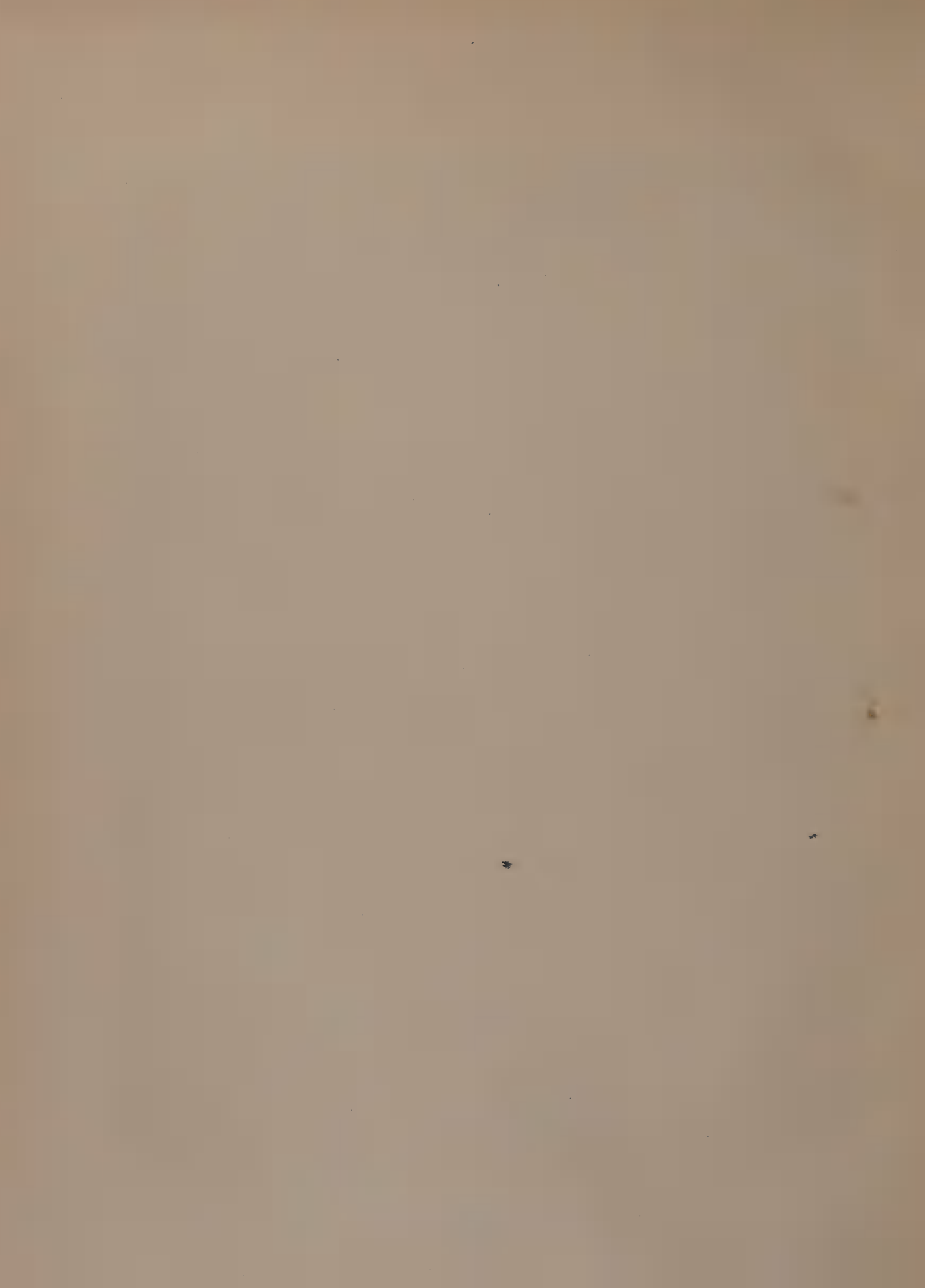


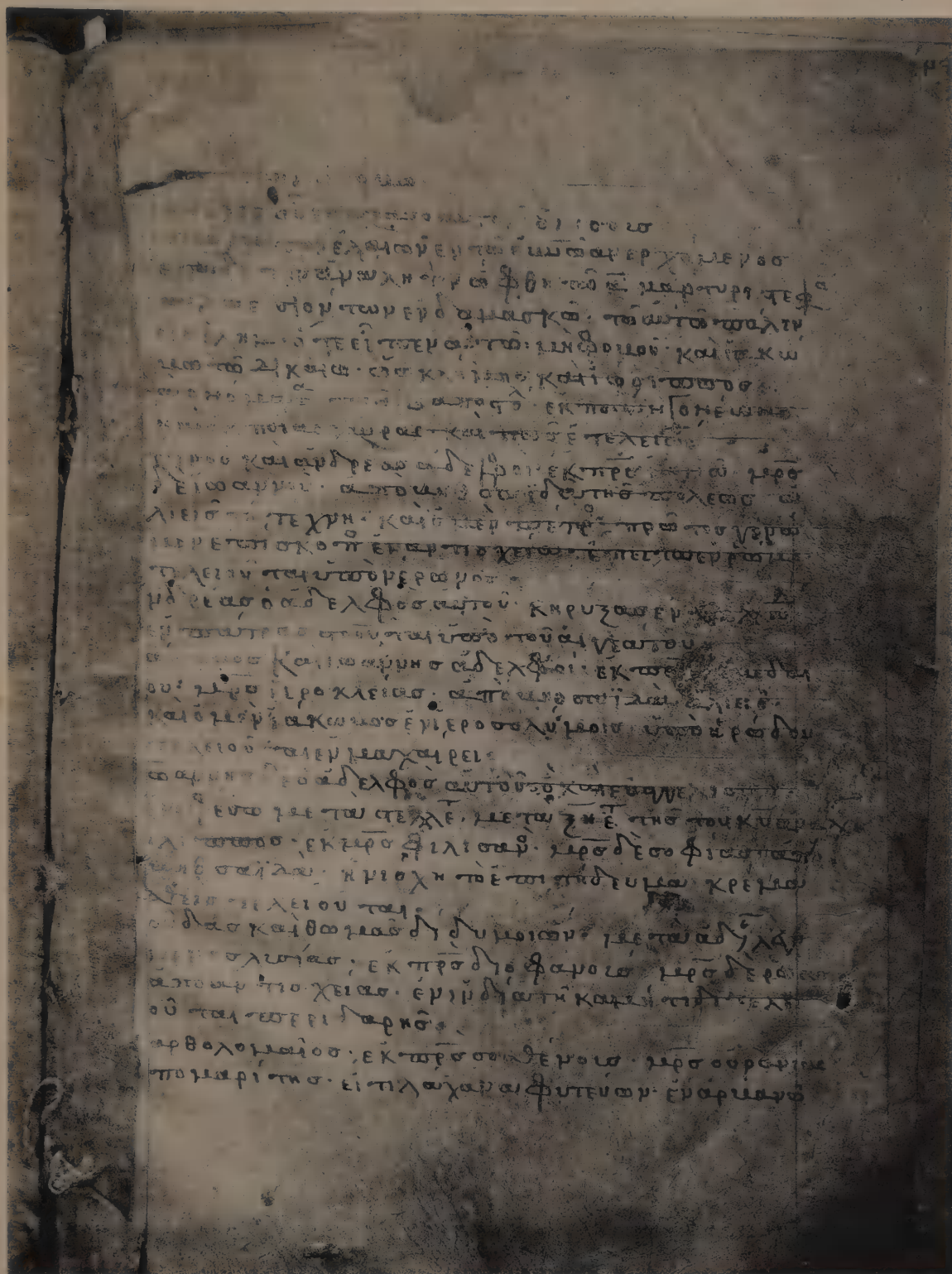
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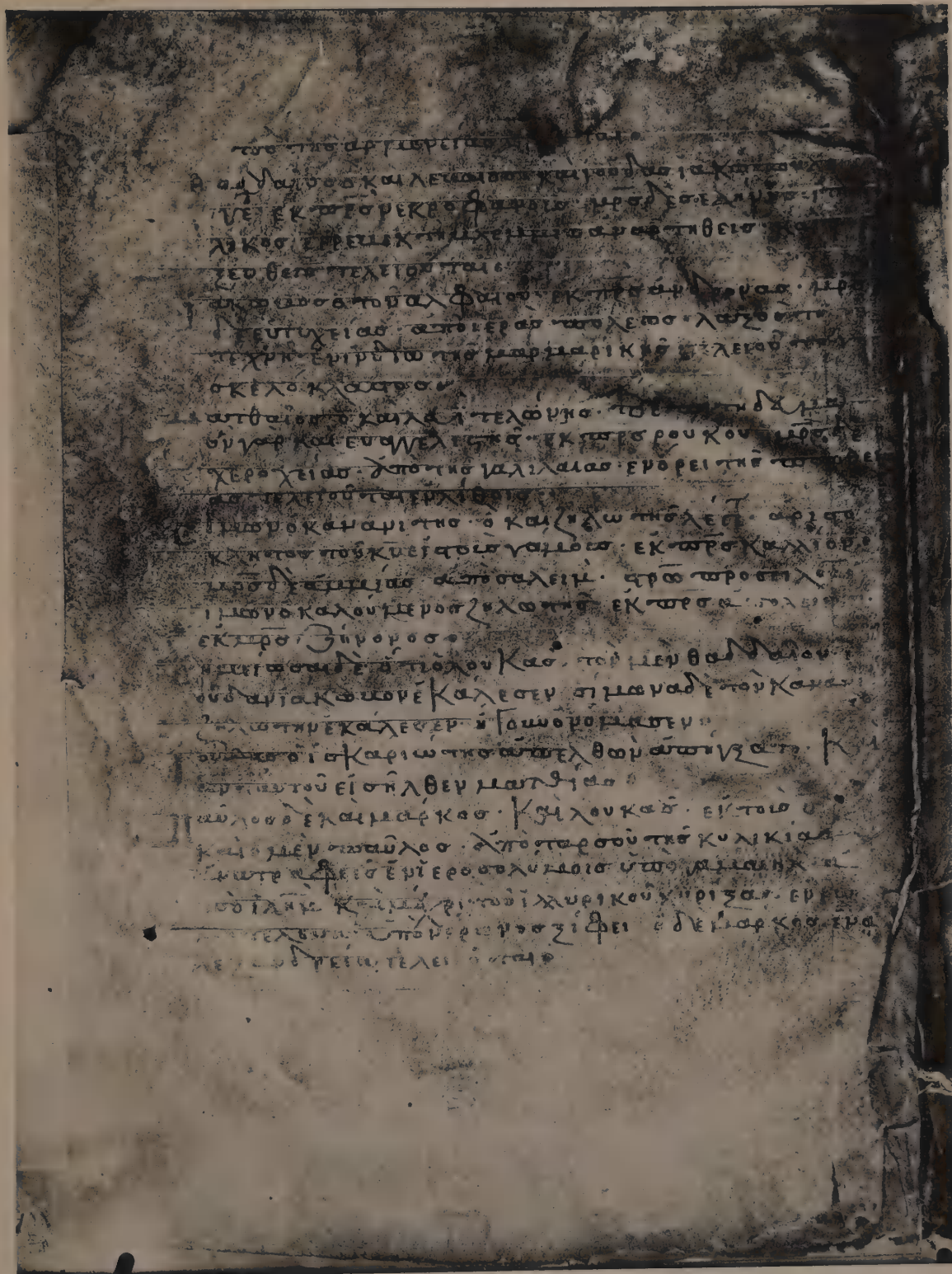
On the Angelic Orders and on the Appearances of Christ
after the Resurrection.





Cod. Ev. 346.

Appearances of Christ and History of The Apostles.



Codd. Bezae 346.

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